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AGERPRES CITES SCINTEIA ON CEMA ANNIVERSARY

AU301907 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Jul (AGERPRES)--On the completion of ten years since the adoption in the Bucharest session of the "Complex Programme of Further Deepening and Improving the Collaboration and Developing the Socialist Economic Integration of the Socialist Countries in the CMEA Membership," Daily SCINTEIA of July 30 prints a commentary highlighting the importance of the programme as a basic document of deepening and improving the economic collaboration among the CMEA member-countries. The main principles, norms and rules of collaboration included in the document are circumscribed to the big fundamental objective imposed by life, by gradual rapprochement and evening up of the economic development levels of all CMEA member-countries.

The analysis of the way of fulfillment of the provisions of the complex programme, the paper stresses, confirms the correctness and validity of the principles placed at the foundation of the relations and of the methods and forms of collaboration recommended by the programme which keep fully valuable, ensuring a framework congenial for the intensification and increased efficiency of the economic relations among the CMEA member-countries. At the same time, this collaboration goes down as a contribution to the promotion of the cause of international understanding, to the resumption and continuation of the policy of detente, collaboration, independence and peace.

Socialist Romania--now in full effort of development and updating of the national economy, of passing from the stage of a developing country to that of a medium developed country--has permanently given special importance to the actual, steady translation into life of the principles and objectives of the complex programme, finds materialization in Romania's participation in the accomplishment of over 200 multilateral conventions on international specialization and cooperation in production, technico-scientific collaboration, the financial-currency and credit relations, the goods transport, etc. At the same time, Romania directly participates in the activity of specialized international economic bodies and organizations created by the CMEA member-countries.

Appreciating the generally positive results scored so far in the carrying through of the complex programme provisions, their contribution to speeding up the member-countries' economic and social progress, it should also be said that some important objectives provided for in the programme have failed to be completely fulfilled.

Given the importance of developing the economic cooperation within the CMEA, President Nicolae Ceausescu renewed at the recent Congress of Working People's Councils his proposal regarding the organization the soonest of a meeting at a level of general secretaries of the parties, to debate precisely these problems. Likewise, setting out from this reality, the Romanian delegation at the recent CMEA session in Sofia pointed out that the contribution of the collaboration to meeting Romania's demands of fuels, mineral and metal raw materials has dropped from 47 percent at the time of the adoption of the complex programme, to only 21 percent now, which has taken sizable effort for the purchase of these products from third countries, paid for in convertible currency. At the same time, the share of the CMEA member-countries in Romania's foreign trade as a whole has dropped from some 50 percent to 34 percent. Likewise, the results scored by Romania in industrialization, especially in machinery and equipment building, are not adequately reflected within the division of labour and bilateral exchanges. In the same sequence of preoccupations, the coordination of the plans for 1981-1985 does not wholly mirror the possibilities offered by the economic and technico-scientific potential of the member-countries, does still not offer full solutions to the numerous problems facing these countries in the current stage of their socio-economic development.

Starting from these important reserves of development and improvement of the mutually advantageous collaboration, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at his meetings with the party leaders of the other CMEA member-countries the need for joint action, within the coordination of the plans for 1980-1985, for the deepening of the cooperation in various spheres of material production, for a substantive increase of the goods deliveries, so that there should be a higher degree of meeting the countries' demands of fuels, energy, machinery, equipment, and other industrial and farm goods.

On the line of materializing these preoccupations, Romania declares for the actual carrying into effect of the previously made decisions and for the beginning of new actions of cooperation in production and mutual deliveries, so that the commercial exchanges with the other CMEA member-countries may double in this quinquennium.

Of special importance in this connection would be the speeding up of the negotiations for convenanting concrete conditions of collaboration in crude and gas prospecting and tapping. Big possibilities are still in store for such domains as the development of capacities for a host of very important raw materials, such as iron ores, aluminium, cellulose, coal, copper, nickel, and others. No doubt, the solutioning of the problems of meeting the needs of the CMEA member-countries for raw materials, special materials and other scarce products would make a very important contribution to the progress of every country separately and of all of them alike.

Building the same system, guiding themselves by the same ideology, the CMEA member-countries have broad possibilities of improvement of the multilateral collaboration also in other priority domains such as, for instance, the deepening of the cooperation and specialization in peak industrial branches and subbranches, the development of highly productive equipment and installations apt to allow for a lowest possible consumption of energy and raw materials, the collaboration in the fullest employment of the existing industrial processing capacities, the building of economic objectives in common, inclusive of the foundation of joint companies, the encouragement, through prices and other economic means, of the growth of farm production and export of farm-food stuff and the turning to advantage of these possibilities would bring most positive consequences.

The newspaper considers that now that the whole world is troubled by the phenomena of such a profound and persisting crisis, the improvement of the collaboration among the CMEA member-countries among all socialist countries in general would greatly contribute to a mutually advantageous solution for acute problems.

In conclusion, the Bucharest daily reaffirms the fact that Romania is resolved to make in the future, too, her full contribution to the collaboration within the CMEA, so that the activity of the council may stand for a real model of equitable relations, of fruitful collaboration among free and sovereign socialist states, contributing to the strengthening of socialism worldwide, to the consolidation of peace, understanding and collaboration among all peoples.

LODZ HUNGER MARCH CALLED 'CAREFULLY ARRANGED'

LD302008 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Question] A demonstration by women organized by the local branch of Solidarity took place in Lodz today. Our permanent correspondent in the Polish People's Republic, Frantisek Sojka, sent the following telex from Lodz:

The demonstration started shortly before 1700. Several thousand women took part while thousands of onlookers watched from the sidewalks of one of the main streets in Lodz, Piotrkowska. The procession was headed by a radio car, from the roof of which a man and a woman shouted slogans and called on the crowd to chant them as well. Two invalid women and two small boys, one carrying a banner and the other a Polish flag, walked in front of the procession. Behind them came women with small children and baby carriages.

The dramatic scenes, carefully arranged by the gentlemen from Solidarity, were made complete by the so-called disciplinary service which walked on both sides of the street with a tight rope, allegedly to prevent possible provocations. The procession stopped at the city council building where Solidarity put forward its demands and said that the government was entirely to blame for the present situation.

The procession then continued to Freedom Square.

The slogans shouted at the demonstration in Lodz today said basically the same thing as the posters hung on houses in Lodz: We are hungry; we want to eat. Who is responsible for the present situation? And so on.

Our correspondent says that in the Solidarity center not only he but other visitors saw a poster openly attacking the PZPR and the recently ended ninth extraordinary congress.

There can be no doubt that today's action prepared by Solidarity was aimed at compromising the party, government and socialist system in Poland and also at showing that only Solidarity was able to deal with the present situation. But no one from among the participants in today's demonstration learned how and so only the organizers of the hunger march from Solidarity were satisfied. They again succeeded in confusing people and turning the exasperation of the working people at the catastrophic supply situation against the party and government.

AUSTRIANS, EMIGRES CHARGED WITH ANTI-CSSR CAMPAIGN

AU301159 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jul 81 p 7

[Zdenek Porybny commentary in the "A Note" column: "What Is Detrimental to Neighborly Relations"]

[Text] The anti-Czechoslovak campaign in neighboring Austria, at the source of which are both emigre and Austrian circles, has recently become more intensive again. Forces with a hostile attitude toward our country have been operating in the country of our southern neighbor for a relatively long time already. Their existence and anti-Czechoslovak activity, just as the support they receive from certain domestic and foreign institutions, are nothing new. What is new and alarming is the fact that Austrian state television and even official political figures also are becoming increasingly involved in their campaigns muddying relations between the CSSR and Austria, two neighboring states. This establishes an atmosphere that is not favorable for good-neighborly relations.

All this is inconsistent with the principles of relations of peaceful coexistence between the two countries. Serious words drawing attention to the harmful nature of such activity were already addressed to the Republic of Austria at the 16th CPCZ Congress.

As Comrade Gustav Husak noted in his speech, "Deplorably, good-neighborly relations (with Austria and the FRG--editorial note) are being disturbed by the unwise support, granted frequently even by those countries' authorities, to elements engaged in hostile activities against Czechoslovakia." This has been said with regard to Austria also on other official occasions.

However, no measures have been taken in Austria to prevent such anti-Czechoslovak campaigns and the Czechoslovak emigre community from making illicit use of Austrian territory for organizing subversive activity against the CSSR. The essence of those hostile campaigns, and particularly the official support given to them, cannot be a matter of indifference to anyone in Czechoslovakia. Our country fully respects the sovereignty of other countries and is guided by the principles of international law and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and is entitled to demand the same from other countries.

Czechoslovakia is interested in establishing and developing good relations with Austria. That corresponds to its peace-promoting foreign policy and to the interests of the two countries' peoples. It is twice as valid in this period of escalated international tension, threat to the policy of detente and increasingly loud sabre-rattling from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. That is also why the Czechoslovak foreign policy strives to contribute by developing friendly relations with countries having different social systems to reducing tension and strengthening the process of detente. This is also the policy of our southern neighbor, judging from official declarations by representatives of the Republic of Austria. However, the recently stepped up anti-Czechoslovak campaign in this neighboring country runs obviously counter to such a policy, all the more so as it is unmistakably being conducted with an official blessing, as has already been said. This is undoubtedly an ill-advised approach that is at gross variance not only with the interests of good-neighborly relations between the two countries but also with the principles and interests of Austrian neutrality.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF SENTENCE FOR DISSIDENT BATTEK

AU310859 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jul 81 p 2

[CTK report: "A Sentence for Subverting the Republic"]

[Text] Prague, 29 July (CTK)--On 27 and 28 July the main proceedings in the case of Defendant Eng Rudolf Battek were held at the Prague city court. He was found guilty of the felony of subverting the republic according to paragraph 98, sections 1,2, letters A,B of the penal code and of the felony of bodily harm according to paragraph 221, section 1, of the penal code.

According to paragraph 98, section 2 of the penal code, with reference to paragraph 35, section 1 of the penal code, he was sentenced to a total of 7 1/2 years of deprivation of freedom.

The sentence has not yet become legally valid.

BILAK PRESENTS STATE HONOR TO ENVOY TO FRG

LD310850 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received Jiri Gotz, ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to the Federal Republic of Germany, and presented him with the Order of Victorious February.

The high state distinction has been awarded to Jiri Gotz on the occasion of his 50th birthday by the president of the republic for his many years of work for the party and active contribution to the implementation of the line of the party in foreign policy.

SINDERMANN ACCOMPANIES KAPITONOV TO ERFURT

LD301380 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Ivan Kapiton v, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, this morning visited the mikroelektronik combine in Erfurt. Together with Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, the guests were informed about the development of the enterprise and its rising output. According to managing director (?Gedler), the workers of the funkwerk achieved a lead of 1.9 days over the plan during the first half of the year. He also spoke of the close cooperation in science and production with Soviet partners on the basis of government agreements.

HOFFMANN RECEIVES KAMPUCHEAN MILITARY DELEGATION

BK300951 Phnom Penh SPK in French 0407 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Phnom Penh, 30 Jul (SPK)--On Monday, Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Central Committee Political Bureau and defense minister of the GDR, received in Berlin, Chan Si, member of the KPRP [Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee Political Bureau, vice chairman of the PRK [People's Republic of Kampuchea] Council of Ministers, defense minister and head of the Kampuchean military delegation on a visit to the GDR, reported VNA.

Gen Heinz Hoffmann affirmed that the visit of the Kampuchean military delegation contributed to the deepening of friendship and close relations between the parties, governments, peoples and Armed Forces of the GDR and the PRK.

Minister Chan Si sincerely thanked the people and the Army of the GDR for their various expressions of solidarity with Kampuchean people and the PRK Armed Forces in their just struggle for the building and defense of the country against the genocidal Pol Pot clique, lackeys of the Beijing expansionists and other reactionary forces.

On the same day, the Kampuchean delegation visited different bases of the National People's Army of the GDR and the borderguards of the GDR.

HORIZONT CARRIES PART II OF SERIES ON BERLIN WALL

AU301225 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No 30/1981 p 32

[Stefan Doernberg and Franz Koehler report: "August 61"--second of six installments]

[Text] The measures of the GDR Government for safeguarding its state borders all at once checked the aggressive plans of militarist circles of the FRG and West Berlin to "get back" the GDR, to incorporate it in FRG territory. Thus it is small wonder that in the morning of that noteworthy 13 August surprise, even bewilderment prevailed....

In his house Adenauer had consultations with Globke and Krone, CDR faction chairman. At that early hour the Rhoendorfer round did not dare to consult the ambassadors of the Western powers. Adenauer formulated his declaration vis-a-vis a reporter of RIAS that the Federal Republic and its allies would not recognize the GDR's measures in the rather vague words: "Together with our allies the necessary countermeasures will be taken." The professional politician, who knew all the tricks of the trade very well was careful not to define these "countermeasures" exactly. After a few hours he himself had to arrange that his provocative declaration, which had already been broadcast, would not be repeated.

Even in the morning of that Sunday it was obvious: Berlin was quiet, the measures, adopted by the GDR in accordance with internatinal law, conveyed thoughtfulness and revealed a balance of power that was unshakeable. The influential forces of the Western powers had to take note of that. They were not prepared to risk their own security in the interest of the FRG's incurable revanchist politicians. For something irreversible had happened once that 13 August had begun.

In the Operative Staff

At 0000 Erich Honecker, secretary of the GDR National Defense Council, sounded the alarm in his central bureau, which was temporarily set up in the Berlin Police Headquarters, and thus gave the signal for a large-scale action that had been carefully prepared with the strictest secrecy. At 1600 on the day before Walter Ulbricht, chairman of the State Council and the National Defense Council, had signed the orders for the security measures at the GDR state border with West Berlin and the FRG, prepared by the operational staff. A few hours later the members of the operational staff arrived at the big building in Keibelstrasse at Berlin's Alexanderplatz. It included the SED Central Committee Politburo members--Willi Stoph, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Paul Verner, first secretary of the SED Berlin Bezirk Leadership; Heinz Hoffmann, minister of national defense; Erich Mielke, minister of state security; Karl Maron, minister of internal affairs, Erwin Kramer, minister of transportation; Fritz Eikemeier, Berlin police president and others.

Erich Honecker recalls: "Within a few hours our state border around West Berlin was reliably protected. I had proposed that the political and military fighting strength of the workers class, that is, working people from socialist enterprises in the uniforms of the combat group, be deployed directly at the border. Together with the alert units of the People's Police, they were to protect the border with West Berlin. If it had become necessary, groups of units and formations of the National People's Army and the organs of the Ministry for State Security were to support them from the second echelon. Only in the event that the NATO armies interfered were the Soviet Armed Forces stationed in the GDR to take action."

Course as Planned

From the central bureau in the Berlin Police Headquarters there were constant contacts with the SED bezirk leaderships in Berlin, Frankfurt (Oder) and Potsdam, with the commanders of the combat groups and the other armed forces whose units had marched out to the concentration areas some days ago--within the framework of the maneuver operations. Constant communications lines had been established with the ministries and the other central state organs as well. The atmosphere in the central bureau was characterized by tense anticipation clear determination and quiet confidence. From the first minute of the Sunday of 13 August there started an action which had been carefully planned and which within a few hours caused tens of thousands to act resolutely and which, although carefully planned, functioned smoothly only because precisely these tens of thousands were most deeply convicted of the necessity and correctness of the measures.

The operation commands to the formations and units of the National People's Army and the alert units of the People's Police were given swiftly. The supreme command of the units of the Soviet Army stationed in the GDR alerted its troops. Now it had to be clear to all adventurers who still did not want to realize that the GDR is a sovereign state which acts on its own soil without restriction and in the interest of peace and its people that the liberty and independence of the socialist German state, also the inviolability of its borders, were also borne by the power of the socialist defense coalition.

Only a few minutes of 13 August had elapsed when the leading comrades of the SED Berlin Party organizatin came together. First Secretary Paul Verner discussed the tasks: Within the next few hours the complete party organization had to be mobilized.

The combat groups were to participate in the military protection of the border, the people of the capital had to be informed by the purposeful use of groups of agitators about the situation and the measures that had been taken, and it must be ensured that on Monday the work in the enterprises and managements would take its normal course.

Signals on "Stop"

At the same hour Erwin Kramer, minister of transportation, instructed the Berlin transport services to stop the direct traffic between the GDR and West Berlin. At 0110 the signals of the routes of the rapid transit railroad system between Pankow and Gesundbrunnen, Treptower Park and Sonnenallee, Baumschulenweg and Koellnische Heide were halted." Within the next 50 minutes this was extended to all routes of the border crossing traffic of the rapid transit railroad system and the German railroads. Somewhat later working staffs met in order to ensure that with the beginning of the morning traffic all transportation means of the GDR capital ran according to new schedules.

At 0200 the border at the Brandenburg Gate and at other important crossing points was closed by members of the combat groups, supported by People's Police. In the subsequent few hours the entire length of the border was taken under control. Installations securing the border were erected, at first only simple coils of barbed wire. Afterwards they were reinforced with earth walls, concrete poles and chevaux-de-frise. A motorized rifle division as well as tank and engineer units of the National People's Army arrived in Berlin in the meantime. They assumed protection over the construction of the border installations and themselves put their shoulders to the wheels as well. At the same time reinforcements of alert units of the People's Police as well as forces of traffic police were reaching the sectors of their deployment. More platoons and companies of combat groups from Berlin and the surrounding bezirke arrived. They also participated in building the border installations.

At 0600 the main part of the operation had been essentially completed: The entire length of the GDR's border with West Berlin was under control.

With this the decision of the GDR Council of Ministers, announced over the radio, was fulfilled: "In order to put an end to the hostile activities of the revanchist and militarist forces of West Germany and West Berlin such a control will be instituted at the GDR's borders, including the borders to Greater Berlin's western sectors, as is customary at the borders of every sovereign state."

No Chances for Provocateurs

The combat groups of Berlin's workers and the members of the GDR's armed forces had not only displayed a high degree of readiness for action, precision and reliability. With their resolute action and exemplary discipline they deprived all provocateurs of the opportunity of organizing dangerous incidents.

The Paris newspaper LIBERATION wrote much to the point on 14 August that "the GDR has taken measures of precaution and defense. Is it not absolutely normal that the GDR protect itself against any provocation (it is well known that the Bonn and West Berlin politicians are masters in this field)? Any measure that can prevent the powder keg from igniting is not bad for the mere reason that it comes from the east." The governments of the NATO states were a long way off from such an evaluation. They had not only tolerated the provocations against the GDR but even had promoted them. The policy of detente, proposed by the socialist states even at that time, did not fit into their concept. But they were not ready either to let themselves be involved in an adventure under conditions which made them appear to be lawbreakers and aggressors and which, in addition, would certainly have deprived them of their positions in West Berlin.

MUECKENBERGER BEGINS TALKS WITH DANISH CP LEADER

LD282220 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1932 GMT 28 Jul 81

[By ADN correspondent]

[Text] Copenhagen, 28 Jul (ADN)--Talks began in Copenhagen today on the further deepening of cooperation between the SED and the Danish Communist Party. At a friendly and fraternal meeting at the Central Committee headquarters, Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, and Joergen Jensen, chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, explained the position of their parties on basic issues of the present time. The SED Central Committee delegation led by Erich Mueckenberger arrived at Copenhagen Airport in the afternoon and was cordially welcomed by Villy Karlsson, chairman of the Control Commission of the Communist Party of Denmark.

Erich Mueckenberger conveyed greetings from Erich Honecker, which were cordially reciprocated. He described at length the efforts of GDR working people to implement the decisions of the 10th SED congress, which constitute the party's general line for development in the eighties. The fulfillment of plans in the first 6 months in the GDR, he said, had shown the success of the diverse initiatives of the working people in meeting their tasks. Joergen Jensen spoke of his party's grim struggle against the repercussions of the crisis, such as growing unemployment, cuts in real wages and the curbing of trade union rights. The peace struggle, the struggle for a nuclear weapon-free zone in Northern Europe and vigorous opposition to NATO's arms drive are among the foremost tasks of Danish communists, he said.

SED GREETINGS TO SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

AU291300 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--The SED Central Committee has sent a greetings address to the 10th party congress of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE]. The address signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker reads as follows:

Esteemed comrades: The SED Central Committee conveys fraternal militant greetings to the 10th PCE Congress.

Your party congress is taking place at an important time for Spain's democratic development and for the securing of the world peace.

The successes achieved in the peoples' struggle for peace, democracy and social progress are causing the furious resistance of the most reactionary and aggressive circles of imperialism. With the policy of confrontation, intensified arms race and interference they are trying to impede any further step of the peoples for peace and progress. In this situation joint action of the communists and all other peace forces is more necessary than ever before. The powerful peace movement against NATO's adventurous plans to deploy U.S. missiles in Western Europe is growing day by day. In this vital struggle our two parties are side by side.

Under the leadership of the SED the workers class and its allies in the GDR irreversibly implemented revolutionary changes of historic importance. In consistently and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism, they continue to successfully shape the developed socialist society on the basis of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. In our republic the scourges of capitalism like exploitation, unemployment, inflation and exorbitant rents have been eliminated. Real socialism in the GDR implements the freedom and the dignity of people. It is the instrument of millions of working people and the result of the unshakable confidence between the SED and the people.

The SED reassures the Spanish communists of its fraternal solidarity in defending the vital interests of the Spanish people.

We wish the 10th PCE Congress success and fruitful results in the interest of our common cause and in the interest of peace, democracy and socialism.

REPORTAGE ON 30 JULY SEJM SESSION ACTIVITIES

Resignation Letters

LD301509 Warsaw PAP in English 1412 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 30 Jul (PAP)--The Polish Sejm (parliament) went into session at 11:00 a.m. here today. The debates are attended by Stanislaw Kania, members of the Council of State led by Henryk Jablonski, and members of the Council of Ministers led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, and members of the Council of Ministers led by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Personal changes in the government were added to the agenda of the two-day Sejm meeting.

Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa told parliament that the Sejm Praesidium received letters from 16 deputies, including one from Zdzislaw Grudzien, informing the Sejm about their resignations form their mandates.

Gertych Sejm Speech

LD301630 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0908 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Speech by Zbigniew Gertych, Sejm deputy representing the Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances, at the 30 July session of the Sejm in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Citizen Speaker, may it please the house. On the authorization of the Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances, I have the honor to present to the house the stance of the commission, and the progress of the debate held in Sejm commissions and the intercommission teams on four documents submitted by the government. At the foundations of all these documents is a report on the state of the economy, prepared by the government. At the instigation of the premier, the Planning Commission has prepared another version of the report after sharp criticism in Sejm commissions and teams. It set up two special teams, the first led by Prof Czeslaw Bobrowski, and the second by Prof Wladyslaw Markiewicz.

I would like to state that the new report is a completely different document. It has been received by deputies and broad social circles with approval. The material it contains is elcquent. And despite the fact that it does not satisfy all social expectations, it permits the establishment of the main causes of the catastrophic state of our economy. The contents of all documents under discussion, including the last one, were and are the topic of broad social discussion presented in interviews, numerous articles and books. They have also been the topic of discussion at the congresses of political parties, social organizations, and particularly at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. They were discussed in the Central Committee report, in speeches made by First Secretary Comrade Kania and Premier General Jaruzelski, in the Sejm and at the congress. They are contained in the congress resolution.

The debate held in the Sejm during the first reading, and in commissions, is also well known to the community from press reports, radio and television. We have had a chance to learn of the evaluation of the past, the current situation and proposals for a way out of difficulties. Recently, the results of the first half of this year were also published by the Main Statistical Office. Thus I will only superficially recall the characteristics of the Polish economy.

In 1979 the national income produced amounted to Z2.148 trillion. It was 80 percent higher than in 1970. Fifty-three percent of income was produced by industry, and about 14 percent by agriculture. It was a year in which for the first time since the war there was a drop in national income amounting to 2.3 percent.

In 1980 the national income dropped another 4.2 percent. In other words, we had produced less than 94 percent of what we produced in 1978. Naturally, the drop occurred first of all in the second half of 1980. In 1981 the national income will be about 15 percent lower than last year. According to the assessment of experts for the Sejm, the first symptoms of crisis appeared in 1975 and grew in strength due to lack of government action. From the second half of 1976 systematic deterioration of the economy took place, and from 1979 until the present there has been an absolute drop in all economic results in industry and agricultural production.

The phenomenon resulted from many causes, subjective and objective alike. First, from improper allocations in the investment structure and from the size of investments, which exceeded the capacity of the economy to implement them. Second the centralized system of planning and management ceased to relate to the level and structure of the national economy, by restricting enterprise initiative and independence. Third, an irrational price structure had been maintained without alteration for trade and retail business, thus burdening the state budget with growing subsidies. Fourth, our economy's export capacity did not increase, which influenced the systematic increase of our debts. Moreover, the then government, despite expert opinion, did not create conditions for accelerating the development of agriculture. Investment outlays in agriculture were insufficient, about 12 percent of all investment. The supply of production means for agriculture was inadequate: Only about four to six percent of the industrial production capacity was directed toward satisfying the requirements of agriculture.

In addition, the leadership of the country at that time allowed excessive foreign indebtedness and debt servicing: that is, the repayment of interest and installments, which limited import opportunities in a situation where exports were rising too slowly and weakly. This had an effect, and is still having an effect, on supplies to industry of raw and other materials. You see only about 30 percent of output is based on home raw and other materials whereas 70 percent of industrial production uses foreign currency. This is another reason why the production capacity of many industrial enterprises has not been and is not being fully exploited. In 1980 the reduction in working time as a result of strikes and the sharp drop in labor productivity was an additional factor causing a drop in national income.

As you citizen deputies are aware, labor productivity in Poland has been and continues to be lower than in certain socialist countries and also in the developed capitalist countries. At present this must constitute a problem not only for the government but for the whole of society, as does the problem of the continuing excessive waste.

The situation noted above overlapped objective international difficulties, which are felt in our country. First, in 1974 the world energy crisis began: It was caused by the rapid rise in crude oil prices and caused the economic recession. The effects of this phenomenon began to have a negative effect on our economy, too. Secondly, the longstanding neglect of agriculture began to be particularly felt. The neglect of agriculture stemmed mainly from the shortage of means of production, from the declining share of investment in agriculture, from poor organization and from deteriorating profitability. This neglect led on the one hand to an increasing number of small-scale farmers dropping out completely from production or to unprofitable animal production being discarded. On the other hand, this neglect led to increasingly large subsidies from the budget to foodstuff consumption. At present these subsidies are coming up to more than Z300 billion.

These phenomena were made worse by the unfavorable weather conditions that have prevailed over the past few years. In the view of the deputies both the documents--the report on the state of the economy and also that part of the government program for finding a way out of the crisis which refers to agricultural matters--need to be extended and further deepened.

May it please the house! Society has not fully felt the brunt of the consequences of the fall in the increase of the national income, its decline, since as a result of the increasing foreign indebtedness from 1973 the national shared [podzielony] income has always been higher than the manufactured national income. The surplus, as long back as 1976, was about 7 percent and even in 1979 it was still about 3 percent. As soon as this surplus disappeared the public began to feel the consequences of this phenomenon and it is still feeling the pinch of this regression in the shape of a decreasing standard of living. What is more, one must count on the fact that the equalization of the payments balance will be possible only in the future by reducing the national income to be shared [do podzialu].

The assessments contained in the documents discussed state that the investment effort of the country was too great and exceeded the possibilities of the national economy. At the same time more than one half of the long-term investment projects, particularly in the mining, iron and steel, power, and engineering industries required outlays which over a longer period of time did not yield new production and which are still not yielding this production. The outlays needed to complete construction projects that have been started have increased to as much as 21,500,000 million. This means that 75 percent of the value of the annual national manufactured income should be allocated for the completion of these projects.

In addition, the deputies also drew attention in the discussion to the fact that in the structure of outlays the government of the time placed too much emphasis on the expansion of industries not connected with feeding the nation or the needs of the domestic market but which consumed much energy and raw materials. This made the already high energy, material and import consumption of the economy worse. While there was too little investment in agriculture and in the industry working for agriculture and while the industries producing for export were not taken enough into account, this led to excessive strains whose consequences we are feeling so strongly at present.

During the course of the rapid development of industries consuming much energy and materials, a disparity also arose between the production of energy and raw materials and the demand for them. A dispartiy also became apparent between the rapid development of investment goods and the decidedly insufficient [development] of consumer goods.

Both these factors, at a time when there was a considerable increase in the incomes of the population, contributed to disturbing the market equilibrium. Finding a solution to this problem is all the more difficult in view of the fact that a disparity still exists--and this is getting worse--between the increasing demand of industry for raw materials, semifinished products and components of articles, and the ability of industry to gain foreign currency for the export of industrial goods.

To these fundamental disparities which are causing a condition of deep imbalance in the economy, and which form the foundation of the present crisis--namely, exceeding the permissible foreign indebtedness, excessive investment and disparities within the framework of the production capacities we possess--one must add, in the opinion of the deputies, the great gap between the increase in earnings and the drop in labor productivity which is accompanying these increases and the enormous excess in purchasing power, which has the greatest effect on the public, over the supply of goods and services--an excess which is made worse by the intensifying inflation and by the defective structure of retail prices. Taken all together this is causing a further gradual disorganization of the market.

The above-mentioned phenomena of imablance occur in close mutual dependence. The overcoming of these difficulties is not possible either in a short time or without social renunciations.

The debate in the Sejm, which was a reflection of the broad social discussion, showed that the way out of the crisis can be achieved as a result of the harmonious activity of three factors: the unification in mobilization of social forces with the aim of finding a way out of the present difficulties; the carrying out of a deep economic reforms; and speedy and resolute activities in the field of economic policy leading to an increase in industrial and agricultural production, above all for the domestic and export markets.

May it please the house! The commissions have confirmed the main aims of the program and have submitted as the most important thing the satisfaction of burning social needs, halting the drop in production and national income and in the further decline in the population's standard of living, particularly [halting] the deterioration in supplies to the market, countering inflation and removing the inflationary backlog [mawis], strengthening money and gradually reducing the increase in the foreign debt.

Apart from this the deputies put forward as priorities in the debate matters pertaining to regulating the wages systems, to housing construction, to old-age and other pensions, to the protection of families with many children or young families, invalids and people not in possession of all their powers, and--and this is particularly important--to the protection of the health of the population.

The need for the government to speedily undertake such directions which would help to increase the production, particularly of food and in this connection home-produced fodder crops and industrial means of production for agriculture, of coal--in this connection it is necessary to increase mining workforces, to fully meet their needs and the technical requirements of extraction--of electricity and power raw materials, of medicines and sanitary goods and of exports was also stressed. The highest priorities which have thus been adopted require not only that production be increased, but also that there should be changes in the structure of this production. This is connected with the preparation and introduction of not only long-term programs--such as the program which is being put forward now by the government to the Sejm--and also with the drawing up of a list of current activities connected with the amendment of the plan and budget in 1981, but also with a program for finding a way out of the crisis and creating systems which are adequate for this as, for instance, the new banking system which has already been passed, or the wages system which is being prepared.

During the present fruitful debate, a number of valuable proposals have been worked out which should become part of the government's operational practice, particularly that of individual ministries. They are contained in more than 110 comments and suggestions proposed by the commissions and intercommission teams, and sent to the government from the Sejm. The commissions recommended that the government carry out, in its own capacity, successive changes in the plan and budget, within the framework of its mandate. This does not, however, mean that the government has been given a completely free hand to make all kinds of changes. The commissions stressed particularly strongly that the government should try not to continue amending downwards the socioeconomic plan and the budget in the sphere of housing construction, maintaining it at the level of 150,000 apartments in socialized, multifamily construction, and to look for possibilities of increasing it further; of supplies of heat energy, of amounts of coal for heating purposes in the communal economy and supplies of bottled gas. The commissions recommended, moreover, that the government should give preference to expenditures on agriculture, to the development of small-scale industry, manufacturing-crafts and services, with special support for people going over to those sectors in the course of the planned employment transfer; should create economic instruments activating exports, among other things, by working out new transaction prices so that the profit derived from exports should serve as an incentive for enterprises, create conditions to increase production for export and also allow enterprise direct access to foreign markets; and should carry out a reform of supply prices and retail prices as elements in the measures connected with the economic reform.

Opinions were also expressed during the debate that in the course of measures aimed at rationalizing imports, their structure should be shaped in such a way as to decrease expenditure, which currently amounts to 50 percent for foodstuffs and fodder, since these can be produced in Poland, and to increase the share of expenditure of raw materials, materials and elements which the country does not have at its disposal and which are essential to production. The proverbial example here is the shortage of rubber and the consequences of this, for example, in the shortage of V-belts, as well as the shortage of arsenic and antimony for batteries, or of some ingredients for producing high-quality steel.

An appeal has also been made to the government urgently to tackle the currently growing decline in the procurement of meat--in June this year the decline was as great as 30 percent compared with last year--and to tackle the transfer of more than 20 percent of the meat volume from individual farms, bypassing procurement, directly to the free market. In the present crisis and the insufficient procurement to cover the meat ration books, one should not allow an increasing volume of meat to find its way onto the markets instead of into the shops, with the government having to buy meat on foreign markets. In July, purchases exceeded 20,000 tons. Instead of using foreign currency for such purchases, raw materials needed for the normalization of work in industry, for example, should be purchased. This is all the more urgent since the free sale is rapidly increasing and is taking on a speculative character. The government should, in the deputies' opinion, take firm steps to increase the contracting and procurement of livestock for slaughter and to regulate the turnover of free market supplies of meat.

Among the varied problems contained in the materials submitted by the government and received kindly by the Sejm and by society, I would now like to present to the house the problems of price adjustment. Price adjustment, in the opinion of the Commission for Budget, Plan and Finances, should be regarded as one of the elements of the economic reform and should be introduced gradually.

It is particularly urgent to introduce this in face of the worsening market imbalance. I would like to draw attention to one element which has not yet been taken sufficiently into account and which is currently making market disorganization worse. I am referring to the panic. It is understandable after all, at a time when, every day, about Zl.5 billion paid out in wages is not covered by production and creates an increasing inflationary gap. This trend, if the government does not take urgent remedial measures, will have a major effect in the third and fourth quarters, during which the gap is predicted to increase by a further Z320 billion.

The Sejm draws the government's attention to the fact that increasing prices is only one element in the stabilization of the market and, in society's opinion, an atmosphere must not be created that all difficulties can be eliminated by this road. The price reform must be thought out in such a way so as, at the same time, to stimulate the maximum development of production, and it should also lead to proper price structures and relations. The price reform should be approached with great caution because of the negative experiences in 1970 and 1976, taking into account the psychological effect of this operation.

For this reason too, considerably greater emphasis should be placed on the compensation issue, particularly for the lowest income earners, including, specifically, pensioners and large families who are below the minimum standard of living. They must know that they are getting full compensation and even a certain improvement in their situation, percentible to such an extent that the uncertainties cease (?to exist). The Sejm appeals to the government to carry out further broad consultations with society on this issue, and suggestions have been made on the need to hold a referendum.

I would like to point out here to the house one more problem which gives rise to many fears and disquiet: I mean the savings in the banks. The government must assure a revalorization [rewaloryzaoja] of those assets, regardless of the interest paid, and give a guarantee to society by announcing a way of settling this issue.

May it please the house! To counteract these phenomena, the deputies propose that the government should begin to implement the announced intentions: namely, drastically freeze pay increases; rapidly introduce control of prices of foodstuffs and unprofitable services; halt investment which is not yielding the desired production for the economy; introduce control over the designation of materials and raw materials for priority production and control of the reserves of deficit raw materials; support the development of small-scale production plants, local manufacturing and storage of agricultural produce; attempt to widen savings (?for a purpose); and accelerate work on the draft of a possible national loan and to take this matter to the Sejm.

The next matter concerns the introduction of the economic reform. The Sejm has undertaken work on the first legislative acts, passed to it by the government, safeguarding the renewal and being of the fundamental acts of the reform: namely, the subcommission has been set up to prepare materials for debate in commissions and will introduce the final draft of the Sejm acts.

We are also waiting for the government to send the already compiled final version of the directions of economic reform and the system connected with it, and the whole package of legal acts connected with the existing schedule for implementing the program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the country's economy.

May it please the house! It remains for me to report on the work of the recently appointed subcommission for the country's balance of payments. Our country's debts at the end of 1980 amounted to more than $23 billion to the capitalist countries in long-term and medium-term credits. The annual interest on the credits amounts in 1981 to about $3 billion and the payment of installments on the borrowed capital amounts to $6 billion. As a result of negotiations with the governments of 15 countries, our government has obtained a postponement of the payment of capital installments and interest for about $2.6 billion, putting itself, however, under the obligation to pay high interest. In some cases this interest rate reaches 12 to 13 percent and in a few cases even 16 percent, whereas when these loans were taken out, the rate of interest amounted to an average of 8 percent, with the exception of grain, which in the credits of the American CCC [expansion unknown] have a current interest rate of above 20 percent. As regards the remaining credits not guaranteed by governments and which were given to us by more than 400 private banks in different countries, negotiations are continuing on postponing payments. These are actually at the finalization stage.

However, regardless of the results of the talks, these banks demand the current payment of interest, whose market rate is currently reaching 20 percent, although the average paid by us is considerably lower. It must be added that in the current use of the credits guaranteed to us by governments, we are meeting with increasing difficulties in private banks, for example, in the Federal Republic of Germany, because the charges [ciezary] and costs of those credits are being increased, annulling to a great extent the facilities offered by the government.

Poland's foreign trade, compared with the country's economic potential, is relatively weakly developed. In 1980 the value of exports to the second area [capitalist] amounted to $17.3 billion and imports to $19.4 billion. The value of exports per inhabitant amounted to $485. This was twice less than in the GDR, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. As an illustration, I will tell you that it is four to six times less than in the West European countries.

The growth rate of foreign trade in the past decade was uneven. In 1970 and 1971, there was balanced foreign trade. In the following years, imports rose more rapidly than exports and the import surplus was financed by using foreign credits. In the light of necessity to pay interest and installments on the increasing debts, the drop in the export growth rate in recent years has turned out to be particularly dangerous, especially of exports to the capitalist countries, as has the failure to meet export plans and obligations in the current year. This concerns coal, above all.

In relation to the capitalist countries, our country's failure to meet coal agreements does not only mean the loss of important foreign currency incomes, but also the loss of our country's credibility as an important coal exporter, which counted until recently. In addition, in business relations, it means putting our reputation as a reliable partner at risk. In relation to the socialist countries, this causes our neighbors serious perturbations in their economies, and it causes us even greater difficulties in safeguarding the raw materials and products fundamental to our economy.

Our country concluded a number of agreements and contracts including coal supplies over long-term periods in exchange for financial and commodity credits in the capitalist countries and in exchange for basic industrial raw materials in the socialist countries. Recently, our country met these obligations but in a mere 30 percent. It is therefore essential to make every effort for the export supply of coal to be increased in the coming months.

Experts have put forward before the subcommission calculations which say that apart from other benefits, additional exports to the second area [capitalist] of, for example, 6 million tons of coal--that is the amount extracted by our miners in 10 days--would enable $500 million to be obtained, which would enable the purchase of almost all of the so-called foreign currency contribution to production needed by our industry. This would mean not only the braking of the regression in our whole economy, but also renewed expansion. The deputies propose that the government should redouble its efforts in this direction.

I would like to add that the Soviet Union, in this period of such difficulty for us, has rendered us enormous aid, offering dollar aid in December 1980 and in January of this year. Part of those sums came in the form of non-repayable aid. Besides that, it gave financial and commodity credits in rubles, used for additional deliveries of petroleum and its products, cotton, gas and ore. Moreover, the Soviet Union expressed agreement to an international payments deficit with Poland, to the amount of R1.5 billion. Similarly, though not to such an extent, the other CEMA countries came to our economic aid.

The 50 percent share of food in the national imports has already been mentioned and I would just like to add to that that the negative balance of agricultural foodstuffs is getting worse because we are importing not only grain and fodder this year, but also meat, butter, lard, and sugar, and our traditional and famous exports are systemtically decreasing. In the debate, we drew attention to the fact that dropping out of the market means that other countries will fill that gap and we have already been informed that they have taken advantage of the opportunity. There is no sentiment in business.

In the deputies' opinion, the situation presented compels the government to take fundamental measures in the field of increasing exports, not only of coal but of cooper, sulphur and silver; to act decisively toward transforming the structure of the whole economy to a pro-export one; and to make efforts leading to a drop in imports.

The deputies are of the opinion that, in the same way that the main issues in the life of our whole society are at present those in food, coal and the economic reform, the same signficance is attached to the problems of exports and their increase.

May it please the house! Detailed justification is still required of the proposal passed by the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances at a joint session with the Commission for Legislative Work concerning the government report on the implementation of the socioeconomic plan and state budget in 1980. In the course of the work on the reports on the implementation of the plan and budget for 1980, the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and the Commission for Legislative Work faced the necessity to examine, in accordance with Article 40, paragraph 5 of the Sejm regulations, the matters of 1980.

This problem was given all-round consideration by both commissions.

The remaining Sejm commissions also expressed their views on this matter. The commissions came out in favor of taking cognizance of the government report [przyjac do wiadomosci], with the exception of two, which did not give approval to their ministries. All commissions came to the conclusion that the implementation of the plan and budget in 1980 took place in an abnormal atmosphere and conditions, particularly in the second 6 months. For these reasons, the commissions were not in a position to determine whether the efforts of the government to implement the tasks were satisfactory, or whether a stronger influence was exerted by other factors and phenomena.

However, preparing their proposals for the Sejm plenum, the commissions were also guided by the generally expressed opinion of the broadest circles of society, which has more than once already, in the most varied forms, given expression to its negative assessment of the management of the government's work in 1980. This negative social assessment was also expressed by the leadership of the PZP and the leaderships of the allied parties. It was the premise for the Sejm to pass three successive resolutions on profound changes in the Council of Ministers. It must therefore be said that, in essence, through the resolutions bringing about definite profound changes in leading government posts and by recalling premiers, the Sejm has already given, and that mainly during 1980, expression to its assessment of the government's execution of the plan and budget for 1980. Taking this into account [words indistinct], the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances has decided not to put before the Sejm this year a proposal to adopt the government report, limiting itself to the proposal that the report on the implementation of the plan and budget for 1980, put forward by the government of General Jaruzelski, as drawn up honestly and reliably, be taken note of [przyjac do wiadomosci].

The commission also proposes that, in the resolution, the Sejm should express that support for the policy implemented by the government of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, aimed at profound reforms with the goal of leading the country out of the socioeconomic crisis. On behalf of the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances, I propose that the house pass the resolutions put forward in printed sheets Nos 80, 90 and 92 and the law in printed sheet No 70 with the amendments contained in printed sheets Nos 70 and 91. Thank you. [applause]

Moczar Speech

LD301330 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0945 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Speech by Mieczyslaw Moczar, chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, at the 30 July session of the Sejm in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Citizen Speaker, may it please the house. In accordance with the constitutional duty imposed at the end of last year, the Supreme Chamber of Control has submitted to the house comments on the report of the Council of Ministers concerning the implementation of the national socioeconomic plan for 1980, and the analysis of the implementation of the state budget for the same period. The above-mentioned documents have been submitted to all citizen deputies, and individual Sejm commissions received a report on the activity of the Supreme Chamber of Control activity. Phenomena have been reported which accompanied the implementation of the plan and budget last year. The causes that had essential influence on the difficult situation at home were also discussed. The general assessment of economic results in 1980, which is contained in the documents of the Supreme Chamber of Control, coincides for the first time in the past decade with the critical assessment presented to the house in the report of the present government.

On examining the causes for the failure to implement the planned economic tasks last year it must be recalled that even in the period of preparation of the plan for 1980, in the second half of 1979, our economy was in a state of great disarray. The national socio-economic plan for 1980 was unbalanced from the very beginning.

It should be added that, among other things, expected reductions on the investment front were not consistently observed, and in accordance with the bad practice of previous years, new tasks had been introduced to the investment plan. The unrealistic nature of the plan made it necessary for the government, in the middle of 1980, to submit to the Sejm a proposal to reduce planned tasks in order to seek an escape from these contradictions.

The year 1980 has entered history as a year of the explosion of sharp social conflict, when for the second time, government economic policy met with the violent protest of the working class.

However, we all know that the causes of the crisis have been building up for a number of years. The Supreme Chamber of Control had also drawn attention to it in extensive control materials, and presented current results of control to the political and state leadership as well as broadly to the Sejm commissions. The materials were also accessible to interested representatives of the press.

May it please the house. In 1981 the consequences of the economic policy of the 1970's are deepening and negative signs have increased. A number of different causes have contributed to the situation--first of all those of previous years which now create difficulties for the present government, led by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, embarked on a number of long-term and immediate initiatives within the program presented to the house on 12 February 1981. Despite general social approval for the program, its implementation has encountered obstacles and delays. So far, the expected slowdown of negative trends in basic areas of the economy has not been achieved.

Current inspections made by the Supreme Chamber of Control show that the source of the failures experienced so far in the implementation of the government programs--the legacy of past years--is the inertia in the operation of state and economic administration, which has not yet been overcome. The administrative apparatus has been partly disoriented, and here and there paralyzed due to social tensions and many other causes. It was unable to master the difficult but indispensable ability to adapt methods of organizations and management to changed socioeconomic conditions.

The requirement of the moment is to pay constructive attention to the current economic problems. Our inspectors' broad contacts with the working people show that the community expects energetic involvement and consistent operation from leading cadres at all levels of economic administration.

Meanwhile, unfortunately, our inspections continue to point to instances of dissembling activity and tendencies to specify things which are totally impossible. Several months ago the chairman of the Council of Ministers appealed to all links of the national economy to come to the assistance of agriculture. The press and the public took up the appeal of "everything for agriculture." However, the production, and in particular supply, conditions of industry are taking shape in such a way that in practice a number of planned tasks cannot be performed.

As is well known, supplies of agricultural equipment have for a number of years not met the needs of agriculture. In 1981 it is estimated that about 60 percent of the known requirements can be met and the percentage even lower for a number of groups of goods. The situation has been made worse by the nonfulfillment of the 6-month plan by 11 enterprises of the agricultural machinery industry and even by the holding up of production in 6 factories of such mechanisms as milking machines, potato combine harvesters, high-compression presses, kilns and other things as a result of the shortage of the planned foreign currency supplies for the purchase of imported parts, equipment and components.

The implementation of the concept adopted following the appeal by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of transferring the production of certain articles to other factories expressing willingness to assume production for agriculture was supposed to somewhat alleviate these keenly felt shortcomings.

Two hundred and ten various factories declared that they would assume such production. However, when things reached the point of specific agreements being made, several factories retracted their original declarations. As a result in the first 6 months of this year preliminary agreements were signed with only 76 factories for the additional production of agricultural machinery worth Z3 billion, from which in the second half of this year it was envisaged that in 44 factories the production of 39 different machines worth only Z500 million would be started up. In addition, the fulfillment of the declared production was made conditional on the continuing solution of problems pertaining to materials, coproduction and prices.

In reality the Agroma central trade enterprise has concluded agreements with 11 factories to date for additional supplies of 15 ranges of machinery worth nearly Z173 million. Thus the results of this operation are taking longer to achieve, and in 1981 these results will be incomparably lower than the potential capabilities.

Activity aimed at increasing the production of spare parts for agricultural machinery is proceeding similarly. In this sphere Agroma proposed an appropriate initiative, for which they deserve praise, by organizing 28 markets at which 3,000 spare parts items worth Z3 billion were offered for production. At the present time as a result of these markets the production of only 212 spare parts items worth Z500 million has been established. As a result of the already continuing campaign [words indistinct] state of organizational paralysis both at factories and enterprises and also in amalgamations and ministries.

The broken coproduction links between enterprises and industries are having a particularly negative effect on production. You will remember that I spoke of this in my previous Sejm speech. The unsatisfactory state of our economy is also to a considerable extent the result of the decline in the feeling of responsibility and of the considerable relaxation of work discipline.

Against the backdrop of the general economic situation the present state of transportation, particularly rail transportation, is also giving rise to great concern. Such has been said about this recently and much has been written too. Current results of checks carried out and also checks taken in previous years show that the situation in transportation in general, and in rail transportation in particular, might threaten considerable economic and social complications on a great scale. Thus it is necessary to support the efforts of the Ministry of Transportation in two fundamental issues.

The first issue is the rapid increase in the number of freight trucks not suitable for use and in need of repair needs to be arrested. The number of such trucks, which in 1979 was 24,000 increased in 1980 to 36,000 and now already amounts to approximately 60,000. In other words, every fourth freight truck is now unfit for use. This requires a radical improvement in the way the rail repair-overhaul base functions and requires that its service-production potential be increased.

It is necessary to counter the gradual decapitalization [dekapitalizacja] of road, rail and riverways and of transportation installations. Their technical condition does not ensure the normal functioning of transportation and the repair potential of the railroads barely covers 50-55 percent of the needs of the rail network.

May it please the house! The Supreme Chamber of Control, in carrying out its statutory duties toward the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, undertook checking activities in the second half of the current year which were adapted to the current socioeconomic situation and which were prompted to a considerable extent by Sejm commissions. We are paying particular attention to the following spheres: We are systematically and extensively carrying out checks on how seasonal work in agriculture is proceeding, taking into account supplies of industrial means of production, and also taking into account how the technical efficiency of the equipment used to gather in the harvest is being ensured. In the sphere of market production the implementation of the supplies of articles of the engineering and iron and steel industries earmarked for the domestic market will be checked while taking into account the switching of production capacity to market goods in short supply and for the needs of agriculture.

In view of the difficult situation in transportation, which was already discussed, we envisage the control of implementation of government decisions aimed at improving the management of freight cars and the maintenance of railway stations and installations. In conditions of limited scope for investment we will control the implementation of investment tasks concerning preferential trends of development, particularly modernization investments. Due to deepening power difficulties we will also control the preparation of the power industry for winter work. I have in mind coal supply, proper overhauls, and manpower for enterprises that suffer shortages of labor.

In the current economic situation the subject of particular interest to the control authorities is raw material conservation. This question is of capital importance for our economy, and I would like to devote some more attention to it. It is generally known that because of increasing raw material difficulties, all developed countries are striving to lower material consumption as far as possible by manufacturing products. The report on the state of the Polish economy stated, among other things, that in recent years, for every $1,000 of national income produced in Poland, 1,542 kg of conventional fuel, over 165 kg of steel, 26 kg of copper, and over 170 kg of cement were used.

The ratio for steel was over twice as high as that in highly industrialized countries; the ratio for conventional fuel was two and a half times higher; and that for cement was three times higher.

I do not have to emphasize that the problem is becoming crucial in the present state of our economy, which is suffering an acute shortage of raw materials. It should be emphasized that the issue of material consumption has been discussed for years. However, moves to reduce material consumption in industrial production were negligible. These moves did not produce clear results because of many factors. A decisive factor was the fact that faulty price structure for supplies was not modified, thus preventing the application of the proper economic accounting. This did not help the rational management of raw materials. Speaking clearly, it was to no one's advantage to reduce material consumption.

As an aside, I would like to stress that we should be convinced that the congress of technicians organized by the supreme technical organization at the beginning of November will take into consideration the need to lower the use of fuel, energy and raw materials.

In our control materials we have many examples of waste, which can be seen by anyone. For example, batches of cement and other building materials are deteriorating on building sites; thousands of square meters of glass are broken during transport and assembly; entire assemblies of factory shops, often purchased with foreign currency, sit in the mud for years. Such examples can be multiplied forever. This has recently been publicized by radio and television.

Besides this easily seen form of waste of raw materials there is also a hidden waste. Here I have in mind such cases as unpunished abuse of the norms for the use of raw materials, nonverification of norms despite technological changes, presentation of falsified economic results in reports, production of poor quality goods from good quality raw materials and similar phenomena.

Speaking about large material consumption in industrial production, one must bear in mind that a significant part of the raw and other materials used comes from imports, to a large extent from the capitalist countries. This is shown by the fact that at the end of 1980, according to the government report, about 35 percent of the indebtness to the second payments zone [hard currency debts] resulted from importing raw and other materials on credit. This results from the fact that our economy is too closely linked with the West and that national raw material production has been neglected.

Sometimes even when we had a sufficiently developed production of raw materials, we were unable to ensure that it developed further and that benefits flowing from such activity would multiply. For example, I shall mention here sheep products--wool and hides--imports of which, particularly recently, have been very expensive. After a lively development of sheep breeding, in particular on private farms, purchase of sheep hides by state enterprises constituted about 50 percent of the estimated demand for them. This was caused, among other things, by incorrect calculation of the purchase prices by state enterprises and this of course was taken advantage of by the speculators. In this situation, in spite of the continuous growth of sheep hide prices, we were forced to import at a high cost from abroad.

Considering the above problems and the shortages in supplies to the industrial enterprises, the Supreme Chamber of Control intends to check in the near future all issues connected with management of the stocks of materials in some industrial units and in the majority of ministries. The checks will focus mainly on balancing the production tasks and the capabilities to supply materials and on the way the stocks are managed, considering continuity of production and prevention of incorrect stocks [as heard]. Many such cases exist. There are 9 items and the 10th is missing. We shall also check implementation of the government decisions concerning improvement of management efficiency in inventory control and the protection of materials and products against damage and theft.

May it please the house. At present work is continuing on the program of implementation by the government of the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress. The Supreme Chamber of Control will as usual actively involve itself in the control of the progress and results of the actions taken to implement these programs. I also wish to inform you that the Supreme Chamber of Control will adapt its activities on a day to day basis to the requirements of the house as regards specific economic subjects. We hope that the results of such investigations will be helpful to the house in performing its legislative and control functions. Thank you.

Porebski Speech

LD302002 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1009 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Speech to the Sejm by Deputy Tadeusz Porebski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo--live]

[Text] Citizen Speaker, may it please the house. The object of attention of the esteemed house at the present point in the session is, among other things, the government report on the execution of the national socioeconomic plan and on the state budget in the year 1980. This was the last year of the 5-year plan and, at the same time, the last year of the implementation of a definite socioeconomic policy for the past decade. The errors of this policy with which one has to reckon are first of all, the process of investment carried out on an excessive scale, consuming in certain years over 30 percent of the national income; second, the preference accorded to new investments as sources of economic growth accompanied by a cheaper modernization process in the existing industrial enterprises; third, the contracting of excessive credits, often on unfavorable terms, from the Western countries, without ensuring the possibility of paying them on time; fourth, favoring the importing of raw materials, even for the simplest of products, while it was possible to obtain them in Poland; fifth, the weakening of economic cooperation with the countries of CEMA; sixth, a policy of wage increases which was not thought through, and did not ensure a sufficient number of goods on the domestic market; and seventh, the undervaluation of agricultural matters as a result of which the import of cereals, fodder and other foodstuffs rose continually.

These errors caused our country to find itself in an immensely difficult economic situation the consequences of which we will have to bear in the coming years. Alongside the errors in economic policy, there was a failure to satisfy many social needs in the field of the health service, education and culture, and in recent years in science too. The situation in the sphere of children's access to nursery schools and creches is unusually acute. It is a fact that many of these difficulties in the large municipal conurbations are the result of a lack of statistics on the migration of inhabitants from the countryside into the town. The buildup of these negative and dangerous phenomena was signalled by deputies in discussions on the execution of the national socioeconomic plan in the years 1978 and 1979. This is the background against which one ought to examine the execution of the plan for the year 1980.

In the conditions that came into being, the basic tasks of the socioeconomic development of Poland determined by the Sejm on 21 December 1979, and corrected by the resolution dated 20 June 1980, were not realized. The results achieved, both in the sphere of material production and in that of social consumption, were generally much lower. As far as the decisions of the plan are concerned, in many fields it was distinctly worse than in 1979. There was a greater decline in the national income as well as a considerable reduction in the effectiveness of income management, a worsening in the utilization of fixed assets, a reduction in work productivity and a growth in the social costs of production. There was a fall in the production of many raw materials and industrial products, and a steep drop in agricult ral production. The disorganization of the domestic market deepened causing painful shortages of many basic foodstuffs and industrial articles. The debt to the capitalist countries outgrew the possibilities of the economy. The crisis situation which took place in 1980 still continues and is growing continually deeper.

This is clearly indicated by the results of the first 6 month period. The following phenomena occurred: a reduction in industrial production to 12.5 percent below the level of the first 6-month period last year; a fall in hard-coal extraction by nearly 22 percent; increasing deficits in basic raw and other materials, both in domestic production and from imports; a critical fuel situation in all branches of industry as a result of low coal reserves; a continually unfavorble situation in animal husbandry, a fall in pig herds by close to 13 percent and in cattle by close to 7 percent; a fall in imports by 7.3 percent, that is by 2 billion hard currency zlotys, including a fall of 35 percent in import supply from the countries of the second payments area; a 25-percent growth in the inflationary gap with regard to the high growth of the incomes of the population and a drop in goods supplies; market disorganization with disturbances in rationing and a sharp increase in unsatisfied demand for all remaning goods.

These results indicate that the whole of 1981 will be worse for the economy than the previous year despite having obtained essential help with credits in the recent period from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and also despite the suspending of payment of certain credits in the capitalist countries in 1981, the year in question. In this situation a revision of the socioeconomic plan for the current year has become a necessity.

The assumptions which anticipated an annual coal extraction of 188 million along with the assumptions regarding the remaining main raw materials have not been fulfilled. Nor have credits been obtained from the second payments area to the assumed level and in the end [words indistinct] of work-time in the state-run economy proved lower than planned. The new proposals of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers regarding certain elements in the socioeconomic plan are based on a balance of hard coal extraction of 168 million tons annually. Of the three variants regarding national and foreign distribution, the second variant is regarded as the best. In the present situation, with the instability of the factors governing economic processe, it seems to be the right thing to entrust the government with the current correction of the economic plan for 1981. Although it can be said that many factors are independent of the government it would be desirable for the 1982-85 socioeconomic plan to have a more realistic, specific and stable form than the plan for 1979-81.

And finally a third document, perhaps the most important, is submitted for discussion to the Sejm. This is the government program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the country's economy, a program which gained the support of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, a program which, after its eventual acceptance by the esteemed house, will also be introduced through the effort of the whole of our party. This document defines the framework of the economic targets the government wishes to achieve by the end of 1985. Only some of them, for example lowering the foreign debt, are postponed according to the assumptions until 1986-87. But there is no reason to hide the fact that such far-reaching changes in the national economy have never yet been planned by any government, especially to be realized in such a short period of time. Many of them will be very unpopular and the difficulties in implementation will be enormous. Among those that will be especially difficult one should count, among others, the relatively swift execution of a profound economic reform in particularly complicated conditions; the obtaining of an essential increment in the extraction of coal and other raw materials; the replacement of imports of raw material with domestic raw materials--with the national scientific and research establishment being coupled to these activities; a genuine halting of many investments; a temporary slowing down of wage rises accompanied by a simultaneous and essential regulation of prices; the introduction of new supply prices; the direction of many people to other professions, linked with a cut in employment in the administration; the switching of many enterprises to different forms of production; the achievement in a relatively short period of time of significant economies in materials and energy, along with a solution to the problem of the production of spare parts for many inactive machines and installations; and finally, the introduction of a 6-day week in many industrial enterprises, both through growth in employment and through a voluntary renunciation by the work teams of some of their free Saturdays.

Some of the undertakings planned at present have been intended more than once in the history of People's Poland. Let me recall here examples such as the reduction in employment in administration, attempts to resolve the problem of spare parts and finally the direction of employees to other professions or to other work enterprises. So far, the majority of these ended in failure. Despite these critical remarks, the plan of action which has been submitted seems to be a logical one. It is a road chosen by more than one country during a period of temporary crises. The other road is to draw on further credits, to seek financial aid in other countries. That road, however, offers few prospects and does not create the foundations for a genuine return to health of the national economy. Many of the unpopular aspects of this government program must lead one to conclude that the most important factor guaranteeing its implementation is complete understanding between the authorities and the public, preceded by proof that this is the only way to restore the health of the national economy and restore to the inhabitants of our country the prospects of a stabilization of life and a satisfaction of needs.

Our party declares that it is engaging all its forces to convince society that the road to temporary renunciation will, after a calculable period, lead to the achievement of the goals set by the government. May it please the house, we know that the condition for determining the skirmishes and battles in our favor is to have excellent leaders and brave soldiers. Translated into the language of the civilian, of which there are relatively many in the Sejm, what we need, among ohter things, are able and efficient authorities. At the moment, their position is under great strain, because more than once they have become accustomed during the history of People's Poland to acting ineffectively. Their enterprise and initiative were impaired by a multitude of regulations. Their servant role with regard to society was allowed to be forgotten. Thus they lost their authority and social recognition. Today, however, the majority of society would like to see them active and qualified to tackle the difficult and complicated tasks. Many people who fulfill functions and hold positions are capable of adjusting to the new demands of society and to the social tasks placed before them by (?the state). Many however, are not able to, and they will have to go.

But this is just one side of the issue. The other is that for the authorities to be able to begin to act with all the indispensable power it is necessary for the effectiveness of its actions to be ensured by social support, support for the foremen, the master craftsmen, the directors and the officials.

Without this confidence it will be difficult to move and break through this bewitched circle of powerlessness of which we are witnesses. May it please the house, the Deputies Club of the PZPR will vote, firstly, for the acceptance of the government report on the execution of the national socioeconomic plan and the state budget for the year 1980. Secondly, it will vote for the abrogation of the law, in the third paragraph in the third chapter of the resolution of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic dated 12 February 1981, on the national socioeconomic plan for the year 1981, and for the authorization of the government to introduce essential changes in the plan depending on the way conditions and the economic situation shape up, while retaining as a superior goal the defense of the conditions of social life, especially of the lowest-income groups in the population. And thirdly, it will vote for the approval of the government program for overcoming the crisis and for stabilizing the country's economy.

May it please the house, let me (?be permitted) in conclusion to use a certain comparison which suggests itself to me. I associate our fatherland, in its current state, with a family home which has experienced the effects of an earthquake. However, it seems that the construction of the house survived and with a joint effort it will be possible to repair and improve it. A proper tidying up of its present interior, for a family which understands itself, is merely a question of wisdom, organization and time.

Lodz Deputy Plazewska

LD301816 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1449 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Speech by Urszula Plazewska, Sejm deputy representing Lodz, at session of Sejm in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Citizen Speaker, may it please the house. We have been experiencing enormous difficulties in many fields for 1 year. One still cannot see when they will be resolved.

I am a representative of the more than 1-million-strong Lodz conglomeration which, in the administrative reform of 1975, was deprived of areas supplying it with foodstuffs. Today Lodz, too, side-by-side with many problems and mounting difficulties which we have because of housing construction and medical services, is also having to cope with transportation problems. Let me quote you as an example the fact that 50 buses and 70 streetcars do not get out into the streets of the town every day. There are various reasons for this such as the shortage of spare parts and the wear and tear on rolling stock. Today it is envisaged that there will be a further deterioration of this state of affairs--this time because of the shortage of fuel. Added to these troubles of ours is supplying the market which is getting worse with every passing day.

The picture which describes Lodz best right now is typified by endless waiting lines in front of shops. In front of meat shops the waiting time is approaching 24 hours. We must remember that in this industrial voivodship more than 250,000 women, mothers and wives are working according to a three-shift system and after coming off a night shift they wait in a line in order to supply their families with life's essentials or, after spending the night waiting in a line, they turn up for the morning shift. Things cannot go on like this: We have reached the brink of our physical and psychological endurance.

The Lodz public has contributed on more than one occasion through its commitment and selfless work to the implementation of production tasks. Today these tasks are threatened, not only because of a shortage of raw materials, but above all because of the atmosphere at work. I do not have to explain here how this affects supplies to the market of industrial goods. At present, there is no calm work in Lodz. Work is accompanied all the time by a climate of tension and irritation. This climate is made even worse by the latest proposal to reduce the rations of meat for the month of August.

May it please the house. When Lodz was mentioned one always said and heard that it was a town of people who worked well.

After all, it was in this town that the youth labor race came into being. It was the people who work here who initiated many good work teams. Today, after the passing of so many post-war years, a hunger march is being organized in our town. This is something that shocks every Pole, in particular Lodz people. This form of protest shocks us but at the same time it fills us with unease because on such occasions one imprudent step can lead not to an improvement in supplies, but to tragedies which we in particular, Polish mothers, would like to avoid.

Here, all us countrymen remember an old and wise saying: United we stand, divided we fall. We wish to work and produce in calm for the needs of the country because this is the task of workers. We wish to create a calm life in our homes, but we also have to give our children something to eat. We are not shortsighted. We are perfectly aware of the situation in which our country finds itself. We are able to do without certain things and we do without them. But we cannot do without staple foodstuffs which are also becoming the object of market speculation. We are categorically opposed to this speculation. The government must take immediate and energetic actions in order to effectively combat this phenomenon. One can be sure that other voivodships, too, particularly voivodships which are highly industrialized, find themselves in this difficult and quite frankly tragic situation in which Lodz Voivodship has found itself.

We are not able to radically change this situation in Lodz Voivodship even though the town authorities are doing everything they can to alleviate this situation. However, what is needed here are government decisions which could to some extent improve the existing situation. However, these decisions cannot be of a temporary nature, they must be systematic and continuous. These decisions apply to the extension of the bread-winning zone for our voivodship or rather to even a partial return to the...[she misses a word here] shaped in the previous administrative system before 1975. The authorities of our voivodship have made such proposals to the government on several occasions but so far there has been no reply. We think that this has been going on for too long.

In the present existing situation temporary and ad hoc solutions do not satisfy us. Here one must make decisions for regulating and ensuring foodstuffs for highly industrialized regions for the long term, forever, because the presently understood equality has not always turned out to be just and has turned out to be particularly unjust for large urban conglomerations which do not have the possibilities to feed themselves. In my opinion one should supplement the insufficient allocation of meat in these conglomerations with such articles as dairy products, fats and fish. This is why I appeal from this tribune to the citizen premier that these proposals should be examined thoroughly and quickly.

The latest decision on reducing the supplies of meats and smoked meats to the population also influences our stand. These amounts really are unacceptable for workers in the long run. The allocations which we have at present are, in any case, insufficient. The subject which I am raising is also the subject of concern for the whole team of Lodz deputies. We deputies have to answer various questions and accusations addressed to us on this subject with great indignation during deputies' meetings. This is why I am of the opinion that the government must do everything possible to create tolerable conditions of life and work and that the government ought to alleviate the tense situation and to strive toward quick and resolute solutions.

Citizen deputies, I was really supposed to end my speech on that note but since I am on the platform allow me to also say what I have been dying to say after the speech given by Deputy Orzechowski. It could emerge from the speech made by Deputy Orzechowski that all the mishaps which have beset our country stem from the work of women who have so ruthlessly resorted to the constitutional right to work. It is probably just a whim of those that have left behind their homes and children, have neglected their upbringing and have contributed to the decline in the morality of the nation. I am amazed that the slogan of "Stay at home, woman" ["Irena do domu"] has been dug up for the umpteenth time since only by a reduction of employment must one save the economy, and I would like to ask whether Deputy Orzechowski attaches the same concern for the welfare of children to the families and children of female teachers, nurses, shop assistants, and finally of female weavers who are so necessary that it will be impossible to eliminate the third shift even in the very near future.

I would like to warn people not to accept uncritically slogans which might be popular but which are very dangerous. Perhaps we should ask those to change their work who not only have free Saturdays but also free Mondays, those who change their work several times a year, or those born on a Sunday? However, I am glad that the chance of choosing between professional work and looking after children has been created for young mothers and families. I believe that the amount of allowances and the period when they apply will increase and that all citizens irrespective of sex have the same right to work and the duty to use their abilities and knowledge for the good of the nation. Thank you. [applause]

Call for General Agreement

LD301548 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Excerpt] During a break in the Sejm debate today, the extraordinary commission for the control of the implementation of the agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie met with deputy Jan Szczepanski who chaired the meeting. The commission adopted a motion addressed to the chairman of the Council of Ministers concerning a general agreement.

In the motion the commission proposes that the government, having agreed with the trade unions, should form a general agreement which would contain the most essential components of social agreements signed so far. It should also contain the principles for settling disputed matters. Furthermore, the commission expressed the opinion that, while making a start with the elaboration of a general agreement, a thorough assessment of the to-date implementation of the basic social agreements should be made.

In this connection Deputy Szczepanski informed the commission that he approached the speaker of the Sejm with the proposal that the matters related to the implementation of the agreements were to be discussed at one of the plenary Sejm sessions.

Zablocki Address

LD302350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1623 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Address by Deputy Janusz Zablocki at 30 July session of Polish Sejm in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Citizen speaker, may it please the house! Our task is to asses the activity of the govenment in the year 1980, a year in which, on a scale never as yet encountered. A crisis occurred in our country which is still going on at this moment, and is even growing continually deeper. If we wish to avoid superficiality in our evaluations, we cannot avoid posing for ourselves a fundamental question, a question posed by all Poles, a question concerning the deepest sources of this crisis. How could it come about? Where do its true roots lie? The deputies' circle of the Polish Catholic-Social Union, in whose name I speak, considers the answer to this question to be a fundamental matter. In order to be able to effectively vanquish the crisis, one must first comprehend its essence. It is obvious that, without diminishing the personal responsibility of previous leaders, one cannot reduce the causes of the evil exclusively to the guild of specific persons. The fascination with personal settling of accounts, although psychologically understandable, can lead one astray, for it diverts attention from the true sources of the evil. And these do not just lie in people, but in the mechanisms of authorities through which they acted.

The leaders of the 1970's were able to commit so many errors without being punished, were able for so long to ignore the opinion of society and to ignore the intensification of critical voices because they acted in a system in which power was wielded secretly and was excepted from social control, in a system which, thanks to this, was deprived of the capacity to repair and regenerate itself. If there is no change in this system of wielding power, a mere change of people will lead to nothing.

That is the first basic truth without which, if not accepted, any and every program for renewal becomes merely words.

When were these deformations in the power system born? At what moment in its postwar history did our state take the wrong turn? There are various attempts today to answer these questions. It is our opinion that one cannot adequately understand the present crisis--nor at the same time can one overcome it effectively--without going back to the year 1948 and to the years that followed. For it was during these years that the foundations were laid for that which is described today as the centralist-bureaucratic deformation of socialism. The model for directing the state that was created then was (?mitigated) temporarily after 1955, but it was not completely overcome. Nor did it undergo further changes after the next social shock in 1970. That is why we are paying the price today.

This is not the place to analyze in detail the phenomenon of that deformation. One can only say of it that the growing preponderance of a bureaucratized power apparatus was exploited not only for the exemption of the apparatus itself from any kind of social control, an exemption which progressed further and further, but so as to subordinate to it the wnole of society.

Representative bodies, organs of self-government, unions, social cooperative and youth organizations, in accordance (?with its) way of thinking, were deprived of all self-government, reduced to the role of transmitters, carrying initiatives in one direction, from the top to the bottom. The ideal was to be a society profoundly atomized and rendered uniform, a society in which the bureaucratic apparatus of power would no longer come up against any self-governing and organized social forces which might present a counterweight to its tendency to proliferate, thus, a social arrangement of forces in which definition of the limits of the apparatus' competence depended solely on the apparatus itself. If this ideal of homogeneity was never fully implemented in the Polish reality then that is the achievement of Polish society itself, which put up resistance to these efforts in various ways.

We know what a great role in strengthening the spiritual and social roots of the subjective character [podmiotowoc] of the nation was played by the activity of the church, headed by the recently-deceased primate of Poland, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. No one who knows the Polish nation, with its many centuries of traditions of political culture and highly-developed sense of dignity, could have any doubts that our society would ever part with the right to its own subjective existence. Even if, as the history of the last few centuries teaches, these aspirations temporarily weakened--in a generation which survived a national catastrophe, for World War II was one too, and (?such) was the Warsaw uprising--they were always reborn with undiminished force in the succeeding generation. That is why it was inevitable that the moment would come when the centralist-bureaucratic mode of governing would encounter crisis. The new sociopolitical situation which came into being in our country after August 1980 is characterized by the fact that for the first time, borne upon the wave of workers' protests, new, organized social forces grew up from below: the many millions of the workers' Solidarity and, several months later, the Solidarity of Private Farmers. Solidarity is changing the political landscape of our country, not just thanks to its very emergence as a mass organization that is representative of society but by awakening genuine social life around itself. Thanks to its example, numerous social organizations are recovering their subjective character, upon which it was previously possible to foist a transitive and ostentatious character.

Therefore, together with Solidarity there appears for the first time not just the possibility of society effectively carrying out genuine renewal, anticipated in the social agreements signed, but there appears something more than that, namely, the chance of ensuring the continual presence in the structures of Polish life organized, self-governing forces of society, the lack of which in the previous period eased the unhalted development of the centralist-bureaucratic deformation. Thus, the rebirth of an authentic social life which we have been observing since August creates the chance of balancing the competence of the power apparatus by means of democratic social control, a balancing of initiatives coming from the top of the state with initiatives from below.

It also creates a chance for realizing within the existing structures that which we term in Catholic social science the principle of the ancillary. For it prevents tendencies toward unjustified centralism, the taking away from the smaller and lower communities many tasks which they can effectively fulfill themselves, and handing them over to the state which on more than one occasion has been in no condition to deal adequately with them. In this situation, the existence of Solidarity, its unity, its independent and self-governing character which permits it to stand (?next to) the state authorities in the role of a partner--all of this has a key significance in the future of renewal in Poland. This new social movement is providing an opportunity for the recovery of social equilibrium, without which, as has occurred more than once, everything would begin to return to the same old ways. Thus, Solidarity is not just the author of the processes of renewal, but also, regardless of whether it pleases anyone or not, it is the main guarantor of its consistent implementation. One's attitude toward Solidarity reflects one's attitude toward renewal.

Obviously, one will not achieve the desirable state of social equilibrium with one definitive act. It is certain that a long road, one not without conflicts, will lead to this. But progress along this road is possible if both sides accept that model of social equilibrium (?as an aim), as a supreme ideal, and take it as the main aim of their strategy. By definition the striving for equilibrium precludes ascendency by either of the sides. Just as ascendancy of the power apparatus over society has been damaging up until now, just so--from the standpoint of general national interest--the reverse phenomenon would be damaging and pernicious. Thus, the strivings of Solidarity to create a model of equilibrium cannot have anything in common with aspirations to subordinate the government to the trade unions, cannot have anything in common with paralyzing the state authorities or with replacing them with conceptions of diarchy or an opposition political party, with violations of the law or with praise for anarchy. The road to compromise and social equilibrium, for which we express our support, will be delineated all the more in reality the more that the bearers of extreme tendencies are thrust onto the sidelines on both sides. For that road corresponds most fully to the idea of the choice of the center, that march down the middle of the road which, in the present build-up of contradictions and threats, is the safest for our country and points to the best prospects for it.

Speaking in the name of the deputies' circles of the Polish Catholic-Social Union, I wish to declare that this choice is also one adopted by our union, which we represent here in the Sejm. The decisive majority of Polish society will, in all certainty, declare itself in favor of such a choice. This choice, if we hold consistently to it, will lead to the gradual creation in Poland of a particular model of socialism, linking central direction and planning with the developed self-government of society. Their equilibrium will be guaranteed by law.

Consolidation of renewal in Polish life thus requires Solidarity to become a permanent and irreversible part of Polish reality and for it to be granted the possiblity to act within the binding legal order. One ought to see in this perspective the fundamental point of the Sejm's present legislative work. I particularly have in mind bills on trade unions, on workers' self-government and on state enterprises. They are out to work out and to secure the right model of equilibrium between the rights of the administration and the sphere of the community's life. We know that there is continuing controversy on the final shape they are to take. We are of the opinion, in accordance with the attitude expounded here, that these bills, bills on issues of fundamental importance for the trade unions and the world of work, should not be examined by the Sejm until agreements are reached on the controversial issues between the sides involved.

Honorable chamber, the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress ended recently. This greatly significant event was awaited by Poles at large with immense interest and hopes. The congress endorsed the line of socialist renewal, the place of Poland in its establishment of alliances.

The democratic procedure employed in the election of delegates and later in the congress deliberations and in the elections of the highest party authorities, the composition of which were fundamentally renewed, met with the universal admiration of public opinion. Already this favorably distinguishes the ninth congress from similar congresses in the past, and all the more so if this democratic style becomes established in the updated party statute. Intra-party democracy, important as it is, also applies to relations between party members. The greatest sector of public opinion, which is overwhelmingly unaffiliated with the party, is first and foremost interested in the question of to what extent these positive intra-party transformations will be reflected in party outside activities and how much they will renew its work style; and also in the question of to what degree they will speed up a concrete program for extricating the country from the economic crisis that will meet with the approval of the community, a crisis that today is an increasingly painful burden that every Pole and every Polish family has to bear.

It has to be said that on these last issues that the congress session leaves a certain feeling of insufficiency. The statements made there frequently expressed nothing new and even questioned some matters which already seemed to have been clarified. There is no exaggeration in my last statement, since at the congress session, and thanks to television all of Poland saw this. The foregoing line of dialogue and social accord was openly thrown into question in one of the statements. Also, doubt was openly expressed about the idea of alliance of forces of responsibility and common sense. And this statement not only did not meet with protest, but its author was elected by a considerable majority of votes into the Politburo. To what extent will the democratic intra-party transformations find expression in a new--different from up until now--style for performance of the leading role by the party? The answer to this question belongs, of course, to the PZPR itself. But it will be of significance for the entire nation. Awaiting an explanation of this matter by the party itself, which it made it incumbent on itself at the congress, one shares the expectations which broad circles of non-party members, including Catholic circles, express on this issue.

They expect that this role, in accordance with the text of the Constitution, will be one of guiding, rather than one of directing in the sense known in the past. It will therefore take on the role of a guide, one who has others behind him, and whom he is able to show the correct way, rather than that of a director who issues orders.

A guiding role understood this way should be expressed by the party chiefly in concept-forming and strategic functions, and in inspiring and controlling functions, and not in replacement of state organs by the party. It must become clear to all that PZPR organs are not state organs, and that norms in force in the PZPR are not legal norms binding on all citizens. They can become such only when they are given the form of decisions from representative state organs.

This is why it appears that execution of this role and general activity in representative bodies is the correct method of performing the party's role, a method which respects the subjective aspirations of society and the constitutional rights of state organs, at the Sejm and in people's councils. The outlining of trends of work for the administration by the party and control over it should take place in accordance with the Constitution through the initiation of corresponding resolutions of representative organs by party deputies and councillors, and not through the direct issuing of instructions by party echelons to the administration.

The formula of the Front of National Unity requires broad discussions. We support the name of Front of National Consensus [Front Porozumienia Narodowego] being adopted for it. We believe that by relinquishing with determination all that which in the past gave an ostentatious character to it, the new front will become open to all healthy and social forces which are standing on the ground of the Constitution, creating a true alliance of consensus between the forces of responsibility and common sense, which is the need of the present time.

Furthermore, we believe that besides the PZPR and the other political parties, and besides the organizations participating in it in the past, new post-August forces should find their place there, those which are concentrated in Solidarity trade unions, in new youth and social organizations; and also that organizations of lay Catholics linked to the Church, which desire a share on the basis of equal rights in the country's public life, be given a proper place, no longer in symbolic dimensions, but that corresponding to their true importance and to the ideological realities of society.

The adoption of the principle that the norms adopted in the party are not ipso facto legal norms binding upon the citizens in the state also means that the party's ideological preferences cannot be automatically transferred to the life of the state. The concept of the laity of the state can be thought of only when the state, leaving to the citizen full freedom to choose ideology, remains itself neutral and noncommittal.

The state administration cannot give preference to a single ideology. This concept alone is in accordance with the Constitution now in force, whose article 81 commits the state authorities to treat all citizens as having equal rights. This should result in practical consequences in all spheres of state life, including such as the system of education and upbringing, and also in cadre policy.

May it please the house, we can lift ourselves only with our own strength from the deep crisis into which our country is now plunged. A key to extricating the country from this crisis lies in closer contact and cooperation between the authorities and the nation, which is regaining its subjective character. The proposals submitted by us today are also to serve this end. We believe that broad cooperation with the community is also intended by the government of General Jaruzelski. Approving the main trends of the government program for overcoming the crisis, we are of the opinion that they ought to meet with the understanding and support of Poles at large.

Krasinski Speech

LD302308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1827 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Speech by Zdzislaw Krasinski, chairman of the State Price Commission, at session of Sejm in Warsaw--live]

[Text] Mr Speaker, may it please the house! I am aware that today an initial discussion has begun on the price reform, which our society will have to experience with difficulty and painfully without doubt. From this rostrum I would like to thank the citizen deputies, who have spoken today on this subject. At the same time I would like to inform Mr Premier that, in accordance with his statement here in this hall on 12 June to the deputies and the nation, the initial draft of the price reform has been completed today.

The title of the elaboration reads: The Reform of Retail Prices, Why, Which, When? Material for Discussion. The elaboration by the State Price Commission will be the subject of corrections during the next few days by editors so that it will be as accessible as possible for our whole society.

May it please the house! In this quite extensive paper, readers, society and trade unions, will find an answer to all the questions which I believe are worrying society. It is a composition of all the questions up to now on this topic put in the press and in my direct contacts with very many circles, such as those questions which were raised by a group of eminent Polish scientists. Hence, I could refer to this paper, but I have to explain several key matters mentioned in this hall. I shall not speak, therefore, about the undoubtedly valuable matter of prices for (?sharp) [word indistinct] because I would like to concentrate on the most important matter.

The question was put: Why can't Poles find out about the meaning and purpose of the price reform and what it is to lead to? This was the first question.

This was the first question of Citizen Deputy Orzechowski. The objective of the reform of retail prices is by no means a drainage of money from the pockets of the community. It is to be a change of the structure of prices and the adaptation of retail prices to the socially justified costs of production of farmers and the turnover, [word indistinct] recent calculations show that the community will lose almost nothing by the increase in retail prices. The increase represents making prices realistic, prices which for many years and sometimes for decades could not be brought into proportion with purchasing prices. The fundamental objective is to achieve an equilibrium which we have never had in Poland, an achievement of market equilibrium so that there are at last goods on shop shelves, so that Poland is not the sole country in Europe which shines with bareness, in which shops and shelves shine with bareness, so that finally there are goods and the community can procure the required goods at any time of the day, at any hours and in any season of the year. This is the main objective of the price reform.

I never bandy about threats of inflation but I cannot agree with the view that we should not talk about this. I want the whole of the community to know the truth, only the truth, and therefore I shall talk about the inflationary backlong [pol nawis] and the inflationary gap, since a community that is aware will even understand facts which are most tragic in their expression. I shall not avoid, as Citizen Deputy Orzechowski suggested, the problems connected with this.

A question has arisen about the interdependence between the price reform and the economic reform. I am absolutely convinced that these two reforms cannot be separated, and I have no intention of doing this. However, the problem of which of these reforms is to force its way through the closing doors of the economic crisis emerges. Both of them have to do this with the greatest difficulty. However, I cannot agree with the fact that price reform should under no circumstances precede even by a tiny bit the economic reform, since the price reform and right prices must be a guide for the economic reform. I cannot imagine an economic reform without prices correctly established, without this guide, this barometer which must advise independently operating enterprises of what the real cost is, what the price is, what they can depend on, and how to produce and supply the market correctly. This is why slogans saying that never and at no stage shall we allow the price reform to occur if the economic reform does not occur are incorrect.

New foreign dailies have reached Poland today. The International HERALD TRIBUNE carries two photographs on the front page, one in the right-hand corner of the smiling Prince and Princess of Wales, and in the center a huge photograph showing a banner--who is carrying it I do not know--and a sea of heads. I do not know where the photograph was taken. The inscription: Economic reform yes, price reform no.

There will be no economic reform without price reform. But catchwords are appearing and these are in contrast with the economic reform. They have appeared today in Poland.

The two reforms are integrally linked. If, in the present exceptionally difficult situation, one were to bring in a price reform by stages--and I support the price reform--one or two could in my opinion be carried out because the need arises. If we do not do it, then no economic reform will be needed because there will be nothing left to reform. I would like to retain two important stages of the reform for the period when the economic reform will come into force in order to ensure the carrying out of the economic reform. This will be a relief for my conscience, a guarantee that nobody will be able to abandon the economic reform because he will no longer be able to carry out the two subsequent stages of the reform.

After the publication of my interview by PAP, which has been disseminated by the entire Polish press, extensive teleprinted messages began to arrive. Many of them contained a request for forgiveness because the teleprinters were badly worn and hence contained many mistakes. This was merely the form, but the contents were this: We do not agree with a single-stage price reform. This was after my interview in which I said that until January of this year I supported a single-stage and one general price reform. Now I am convinced that this must be spread over several stages. Those who sent numerous teleprinted messages did not even read to the end of the first sentence but protested at once against a single-stage price reform.

What sort of consultation can there be with those who send this kind of teleprinted message without even reading to the end of the first sentence?

I believe that the first stage is pressing. When, on 22 June, I held first talks with Solidarity in Bydgoszcz, which had invited me and which had organized a beautifully arranged conference on the topic of food and food prices, I told those assembled that it could soon so happen that there would be a shortage of bread in Poland.

Not because we are short of it but because prices are fixed in such a way that they cause enormous waste or the use of bread which is a far cry from consumption. And Solidarity begged me never to allow things to come to such a situation, that this should never occur, that ration coupons for bread should never be introduced in Poland. But this happened yesterday. The Ciechanow voivoda informed me that ration coupons for bread were introduced yesterday in this voivodship; this is the first voivodship which will have to be followed by more in the near future. In Czestochowa Voivodship in certain localities there has been a lack of bread for 3 days. Bread is not reaching shops because it is already being bought up at the toll-gates [rogatki] by those who are breeding animals on a small scale and even by farmers. And today in Plac Zbawiciela [square near the center of Warsaw] bread appeared for the first time today costing more than the official price. It was sold under the arcades. And this has taken place considerably earlier than I expected. I do not know what to call this but I think that the word disgrace will not be too sharp--disgrace for a country which has enough grain, enough bakeries and enough mills to feed the population.

Hence, already we should soon--and I have expressed this in numerous interviews, without waiting, almost immediately, and I defined 15 August as the final date--introduce new prices for bread, flour products and possibly for sugar and salt while giving full compensation to everyone for the price rises resulting from this and for the increased cost of living resulting from this. This cost, according to the most precise calculations, according to suggestions at the Bydgoszcz conference where a request was made to increase the amount of consumed bread to 10 kilograms monthly per person, was calculated and the total cost of the price rise per month per person comes to Z199 and 70 groszy.

Consequently, we propose Z200 compensation straight away. And here I call to mind the numerous telephone calls which I take every day and which I do not avoid from old people and pensioners who tell me in trembling voice that they can do without the compensation just as long as the new prices are introduced as quickly as possible because they are not capable of forcing their way through in the lines waiting in front of shops for bread. They can do without the compensation in order that the new prices can be introduced as quickly as possible.

Now I shall repeat a conversation, a grotesque conversation but how tragic in what it expressed, which went more or less as follows: An old woman who was a pensioner turned up at a shop in order to buy a loaf of bread. She found out from the saleswoman that it now cost not Z6.70 but Z16.70. Surprised by this fact she wanted to give up the purchase but the saleswoman said: Here you are, I'm giving you Z10. You can pay Z6.70.

At this moment the crowd standing next to the old woman began to take an interest in this fact, asking: What price did you pay for the bread? For Z6.70, but please, what sort of prices are they? Well, it seems they are some sort of new prices. Excuse me, are these the prices which were fixed before the economic reform, or after the economic reform? Many people discussed this fact and both sides--the old woman and the saleswoman--scared by the enormous discussion which developed around this most simple of transactions, well, one decided to forego her sale and the other her purchase.

And it seems to me that disucssion similar to this story is now in progress.

May it please the house! Since I cannot do much I would like in this hall to turn right now--pardon me if this is a personal matter--to my mother who last week did not get any bread in Poznan in a working district [words indistinct]. She told me: What would I have done if my neighbor who breeds chickens on her allotment had not let me have half a loaf of bread? And I must say that I was awestruck listening to what my mother, an old woman who cannot push her way through waiting lines any more, had to say.

This is why my minister colleagues seated on the government benches, 30 if my counting is correct, men who are members of the Council of Ministers, Mr Premier Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski--I think that we cannot wait in this situation and if I may be allowed to ask for anything--and this is only a request, I do not want anything else--then may military jets be sent today or tomorrow to the north and other directions and transportation delegates here and then in neutral Sejm halls tomorrow or on Sunday when the populace whispers "Give us this day our daily bread, Lord" it is possible in front of all of you, citizen deputies, to sign an agreement which will ensure that our population will not suffer apparent hunger. [as heard]

I think that our nation and society have been exhibiting tremendous prudence over the past 12 months and will at the same time exhibit a strength of will which will make it possible for us to get out of this crisis for the well-being of our Fatherland. Thank you. [applause]

Agriculture Minister Wojtecki

LD302342 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1929 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Speech by Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Jerzy Wojtecki at 30 July Sejm session--live]

[Excerpts] Citizen Speaker, may it please the house. In my speech I wish to refer to some of the speeches made by the citizen deputies concerning agriculture and the food economy, and I would also like to explain a few matters and pass on information.

The first matter concerns the management of land. This problem was dealt with by Deputy Orzechowski, who spoke, among other things, about bad land management in many parishes. Hence I believe he also had in mind the legal act.

The second matter is connected with prices for procurement and the profitability of production. I can tell the house that for this purpose, this year more than Z130 billion are to be provided for price increases. Thus, with one stroke, we shall almost level the income of the rural and urban population.

The next matter is the supply of meat. In a short talk on television I said something on this topic. But as there are still many misunderstood or unclear matters I shall devote a few sentences to the matter. The year 1980 was one of the worst in the last 3 decades.

We gathered 18 million tons of grain, which is over 2 million tons less than the average; 26 million tons of potatoes, in contrast with 45 or 50 million tons. Beets were not too good, hence little sugar and small tops. Fodder crops yielded little. We imported more than 8 million tons of grain and feeds, which is not less than usual. But everybody knows that when the yields of grain crops, potatoes and fodder crops are so low and the import of grain and feeds cannot be greater than 8 million tons, for which we paid more than $2 billion, it becomes clear that it is difficult to maintain the animal herds, that their number has to decline. I shall say frankly that when we made a grain and feed assessment, we believed that the decline would be greater than the June census revealed. In June, 30 percent less meat was procured and during the first 6 months 18.3 percent less than a year ago.

This year it has been decided to import 70,000 tons of meat. It was not an easy decision, not just becuase the shortage of funds, because we know what is available, but also because it was difficult to find countries which in a short space of time could supply such quantities of meat, not to mention the transport problems. These, among other things, are the reasons for the situation we now experience. We know that procurement in July will also be low. We are procuring, on average, 3,500 tons daily, while in order to meet coupons and supplies to the market we need 150,000 tons monthly, even more than 150,000 tons. Even including this import we will be unable to cover the needs.

How did this happen? The sales on the free market increased in June and July. When in May only 10 percent of the volume went to the free market, in June this totalled about 20 percent, and in July 20 percent.

Knowing the situation and forecasting what will happen in July, in order to be honest to society, it was proposed to lower the volume by 20 percent. There is no other possibility. We cannot import more, we know we shall not procure more, hence the proposal for the next 2 months, because we forecast that in Spetember, October and November procurement will be considerably greater. This results from the June census and from the age structure of farm animals. This is the situation which I wished to explain in greater detail.

SEJM SESSION CONTINUES 31 Jul; LEADERS ATTEND

Kania, Jablonski, Jaruzelski

LD311041 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 31 July (PAP)--The Sejm resumed work this morning. Among the deputies present are Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council; members of the government with Gen Wojcech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Sejm Vice-marshal Halina Skibniewska is in the chair.

Baka Speech

LD311116 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0743 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Speech by Wladyslaw Baka, minister for economic reform, to the Sejm session in Warsaw--live]

[Excerpts] Citizen Speaker, may it please the house, on the authorization of the chairman of the Council of Ministers I wish to express my views on some questions connected with the economic reform which have been raised during the current debate.

A truly self-governing enterprise constitutes, as has been rightly said here, the cornerstone of the economic reform which we have undertaken. Differences of opinion have appeared. In the press, on the radio, at various meetings, in many places the so-called government proposals have been opposed by a social proposal worked out by a network under the auspices of NSZZ Solidarity. I should like to point out the fact--and here I should turn to Deputy Bukowski--that in preparatory work in preparing drafts of government bills every effort was made to ensure that they are socially balanced.

For this reason opposition to the government law, the law, the draft social laws, is not very (?well-founded). I would like to assure Deputy Bukowski that the government will not neglect anything, that all points raised in the discussion on self-government and enterprises are taken into account, taken into consideration, during the presentation of the government position at the Sejm commission where these drafts are currently being examined. For this reason I permitted myself to say that the draft proposed by the government is not a draft that flowed, so to speak, from a civil servant's pen, which was created in a minister's office. It is rather a draft of social [word indistinct] because it was in fact compiled by a social group composed of the most eminent authorities in the spheres of economics, law and sociology. Many factories were consulted. At the same time, this does not mean that it is a perfect draft; there is no such thing. It does not mean that there is no room for improvement, for changes. We are very pleased that the initiative launched by the chairman of the Council of Ministers--that all possible controversies, all ambiguities and doubts regarding the question of self-government should be cleared up at the conference table, cleared up in the Sejm commission; that the best form of worker self-government should be selected through the activity of the Sejm--has met with a favorable reception from Solidarity and the other trade unions.

The talks held so far have allowed us to explain that we are in fact rejecting all concepts of group ownership. The most important topic, therefore, is to conduct further work in such a way as to achieve agreements--and this is very difficult--that will ensure genuine self-government, the genuine self-government which constitute the government stand, which is affirmed and demanded by the trade unions, with protection of the general public interest. This is an exceptionally difficult matter. It is exceptionally difficult in view of the exceptionally difficult matter, which was (?learned) also in Yugoslavia, where, to the Constitution and the laws of the seventies a number of amendments were introduced in light of experience which modified the relation between state bodies and self-government bodies, with this very aim, that genuine full self-government should be better coordinated, better harmonized with the general public interest. If we do not accomplish that, the government will not be able to meet its constitutional, one can say, obligations, of the full right to work. It will not be able to guarantee that all basic needs are met or to guarantee a just, even regional development in line with socialist principles.

The government expresses its conviction that the continuing work of the subcommission led by Deputy Lopatka will lead to constructive solutions and that, stimulated by good will, all sides will help bring the bill before the Sejm on schedule so that the rhythm of work on the reform will not be disturbed.

The next issue I should like to discuss is the issue mentioned yesterday by citizen Minister Krasinski of the economic reform and the price reform. Indeed photographs of the slogan: "Economic reform, yes; price change, no" are not just in foreign periodicals. We must explain here, putting aside any emotion, that complexities, dependencies, interconnections do not unfortunately, permit that slogan to be seen as correct, do not permit the thesis to be accepted that it is possible to carry out economic reform without a profound reconstruction of the structure of both supply and retail prices. As far as the issue of supply prices is concerned, the matter is simple.

A government resolution has already been adopted and as of 1 January 1982 new supply prices will be brought into effect which will make cost accounting more realistic. These prices will make it possible to identify and pinpoint effective and ineffective management, what is beneficial to the nation, and what enfeebles its economic potential. A change of supply prices--I should like to stress this particularly--is also emotional. It is not a matter of indifference to miners that the product of their great effort is given such a low price. Man looks to the product of his own hands and mind for a confirmation of his own worth. A price is a kind of expression of the appreciation of the community. It is an expression of the attitude of the community toward that group, toward its efforts.

Thus, a fair price must be a price that is economically fair and that will make it possible for the feeling of the community to correspond to the contribution of various social groups for the common good. Thus the issue of retail prices is more complicated.

I will not spend too much time on the issue of retail prices. I would like to explain in three theses that there can be no reform without a reconstruction of those prices. The first thesis: The soul of the economic reform which we are implementing is the motivational system which means that a greater effort, better work, greater and better initiative and higher activeness must be profitable for a worker. For his real effort he must receive real money, that is, money that can buy goods. If he were to receive for his efforts paper, monkey's money, as journalists call it, false money, nothing will induce that man to make that effort. We have seen examples of this in various places and these examples are increasing.

The second thesis: If someone has to struggle to obtain goods, has to stand in lines, if in society hundreds of thousands of people and even millions of people use a great deal of time looking for goods, these are no conditions for thinking, for rationalizing, for better organizing production processes. Finally, the third thesis is a purely psychological matter: someone who has this basic nuisance constantly with him, who does not have his most essential needs assured--as Minister Krasinski dramatically said yesterday--cannot focus his attention on how to manage better. Those are the arguments in favor of restructuring retail prices. Without changes and without restructuring retail prices, one cannot talk seriously about economic reform. The issue is, however, implementation. Here, simply, the government is presenting different variants, a variant of gradual restructuring and certainly a variant in which a considerable part of society, particularly the least well-off, will not lose anything and will get full compensation, perhaps even with interest. That is the government stand on prices, price changes and the economic reform.

We appeal now to all enterprises: Prepare for the reform. Prepare for the reform; take a look at your active and passive sides. See what your enterprises would look like if principles of complete self-sacrificing, of independence were introduced. Which organization setups should remain and how they should change. I do not hide the fact that the reform will be a good thing for the well-organized, that it will at the same time uncover weaknesses and inefficiencies.

This is the conviction of the entire Economic Reform Commission: after the August breakthrough, a great social energy was released in Poland. This social energy is still being released and there are still great reserves. The dilemma of whether or not this energy will be channelled toward construction or in another direction has, unfortunately, not yet been resolved. This matter, this great decision, this great choice--if one can speak of a choice--is still before us. It is a matter of great national, historic significance to concentrate this energy, society's attention, on construction. The Economic Reform Commission is convinced that this energy should be centered around the reform and that the economic reform will create a plane for construction. Thank you. [applause]

Deputy Denies Bread Rationed

LD311020 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0901 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Statement by Deputy Jerzy Gralewicz at the Sejm session in Warsaw--live]

[Text] May it please the house. I just want to make a short statement in connection with the statement by Minister Zdislaw Krasinski. As deputy from Ciechandow, I state that in this voivodship no ration coupons for bread have been introduced, and such a proposal has not even been considered. Our mills and bakeries are working at full capacity, that is normally, and the supplies to the market are 20 percent higher than 1 year ago. In order to restrict the purchase of bread for fodder purposes, only the quantity of bread sold to one person is restricted. That is the state of affairs in villages and towns. In connection with this I request the clarification in the mass media of this untrue piece of news, which has evoked much, well, unrest among the inhabitants of the voivodship.

SOLIDARITY HOLDS TALKS AT SEJM WITH GOVERNMENT

LD311102 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] During the morning debates a delegation of several dozen members of NSZZ Solidarity from Warsaw enterprises arrived at the Sejm. Some of the delegation undertook talks in the Sejm building with Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa. Deputy Jan Jozef Szczepanski, chairman of the extraordinary commission for the implementation of the social agreements, and members of the government are taking part in the talks. The subject of the talks includes supplies to the market, food rationing, and the reduced meat allocations for August. A large group of delegates is waiting in front of the Sejm building for the end of the talks.

More on Solidarity Talks

LD311208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1035 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Excerpts] At the Sejm session there is a delegation of Solidarity of the Mazowsze region, which arrived here and had talks in the Column Hall with Sejm Marshall Stanislaw Guowa. Unfortunately journalists were not admitted to this meeting and I cannot say that the talks are over.

A Solidarity representative after leaving the hall said that the Sejm representatives have been informed about Solidarity's stance, as far as the supplying of basic foodstuffs is concerned. He also said that there had been an exchange of views with Sejm representatives and representatives of the government. After forming [words indistinct] the delegation and the workers waiting outside the Sejm for them moved toward the building of the Solidarity Mazowsze region.

FURTHER DETAILS ON LODZ HUNGER PROTEST MARCH

More Workers Join Protest

LD301656 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] As in days past of this week, today, too, the protest action of NSZZ Solidarity will be one of our program's most significant subjects.

Following transportation workers, workers of the municipal transportation enterprise, the state motor company, and Transbud, [not further identified] as a sign of protest against cuts in meat rations and as a sign of discontent at the mistreatment of Lodz in foodstuffs supplies, drove their poster-covered vehicles along the main street, Piotrkowska Street. Today the Solidarity trade union activists organized a protest march of women.

Other Marches

LD302124 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] A hunger-march by women passed along Piotrkowska Street in Lodz today. Demands addressed to the town mayor were read in front of the town hall.

Similar marches took place in Piotrkow Trybunalski, Tomaszow Mazowiecki, Belchatow and Zdunska Wola.

The state of strike readiness proclaimed by NSZZ Solidarity is being maintained in Czestochowa.

Szczecin Protest March

LD311354 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] In Szczecin a women's protest march is now taking place, against the attempts to lower food rations for the coming months.

Comments on Inefficacy

LD301900 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Jozef (Wojcieszek) report from Lodz]

[Text] Good afternoon from Lodz. From Monday until today the Solidarity regional executive has carried on a protest action in Lodz. Every day, processions of motor vehicles from municipal or state motor transportation or building enterprises carry slogans like "Hunger, To Eat, Break," and also slogans which are political in nature, even provocative, like "Socialism Means Hunger," "To Socialism With Coupons," and so on. I mention only the printable ones, because there are also unprintable ones.

This afternoon, within the framework of protest action, a women's march passed along Piotrkowska Street. So much for news.

I would now like to share with you some doubts and questions. The first matter: There will be no more food because of protests, and the gasoline consumed in protests could be used more effectively, perhaps to help with the harvest. My second doubt is connected with the following: Solidarity, which organizes the protest actions, is proud of a principle that I very much like, that the stronger defends the weaker. I must note that the effects of these protests go completely against that principle. He who shouts louder and protests more gets more. There is, of course, a purpose behind a protest, but what about its effects?

If a protest is organized in Lodz today, posters are hung and so forth: Then supplies in Lodz will improve. Such is our practice, but supplies improve at the expense of another voivodship, for instance, Plock or Kalisz. Well, tomorrow or in 1 week's time there will be a protest in Kalisz or in Plock. And then what? We will take away from Lodz and give it to those who are protesting!

Last week there were no cigarettes in Lodz, even for those with coupons. I spoke to the director of Ruch [RSW "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch press agency]. He explained briefly: deliveries were planned from Krakow, but the miners were moaning and protesting, so all the cigarettes from Krakow went to Silesia, and this is why there are none in Lodz. What do you say to this? He who is stronger and louder gets something, depriving others. Is this the issue? Is it the issue that we in the Polish voivodships should struggle, one against the other for what is scarce anyway? Are we to spend half of our energy in this struggle for getting something and the other half protesting what is generally known, that there is little available of everything and especially food? These are my doubts about street demonstrations and protests. I am aware that what I have said is unpopular and that not everyone will like it. But how easy is it today to say unpopular things to the cars passing along Piotrkowska Street or to the marching women. That is all. I thank you.

Columnist Questions Aims

LD311148 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 31 Jul 81

["Conclusions From the Lodz Protest"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Jul (PAP)--The women's march was the culmination of the 4-day protest action by the Lodz regional board of the Solidarity trade union, Cezary Rudzinski writes in TRYBUNA LUDU today.

The leaders of Solidarity assert that it was the women who proposed staging a protest action. The trade union agreed to it in order to avoid worse--uncontrolled, spontaneous strikes. I have, however, frequently come across the view, the author writes, that this form of protest was encouraged and that agitation was conducted in lines and at factories to encourage participation in the "women's hunger march." Cars driving past demonstratively bearing mottoes and slogans were one sign of such agitation.

During the 2 weeks from the day the protest action was announced until the moment it was held, supplies of meat and other foods in Lodz Voivodship remained insufficient, but had improved noticeably. This was the result, in particular, of the speeches made by the Lodz delegates at the Ninth PZPR Congress and of the talks they held in Warsaw, and also of the efforts of the voivodship authorities. However, the plan for the protest action which had been prepared beforehand was not changed. When the demand for an improvement in supplies had lost some of its topicality, the slogan "No to the New Meat Ration Norms" was raised.

Afterwards, when the action was already in progress, further demands were made on the authorities, in particular concerning establishing who was guilty, at the local and central levels of the insufficient supplies of protein, produce and butter, and also concerning changes in cadres. (?It is clear) that it was a matter not only of the proclaimed aim--improving regional food supplies--but of (?political) action.

OTHER SOLIDARITY REGIONS ACT ON FOOD SUPPLY ISSUE

LD301524 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] [No dateline received] The workforces of some enterprises in Szczecin have protested against the decision concerning the reduction of meat and sausage allocations. The works committee of NSZZ Solidarity at the Szczecin shipyard has appealed to employees not to accept ration cards for August.

Gdansk To Take Strike Poll

LD301652 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] The plenum of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of Gdansk region Solidarity has held a meeting with works commissions. Voices were heard suggesting that it was essential to take protest action in connection with the food situation and the government's failure to meet the obligations it had undertaken. In this situation, the MKZ plenum decided to take a poll among union members. Those answering the questionnaire will answer the following, among other, questions: Are you prepared to take part in a protest action? Yes or no? Are you in favor of a warning strike? If the warning strike does not yield the desired results, are you for a full-fledged strike? The collection of the questionnaires is to be completed on 4 August.

Warsaw Sets Strike Plans

NC302016 Paris AFP in English 1926 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Jul (AFP)--The Warsaw branch of the independent trade union federation Solidarity today adopted a timetable for strikes and demonstrations to protest the imminent cut in the meat ration.

The branch is demanding that the cut in the ration--which from Saturday will drop from 3.7 kg (about 8.1 lb) to 3 kg (about 6.6 lb) a month per person--be rescinded, along with the rationing of soap powder. The trade unionists also want the right to examine the functioning of external and domestic trade. If these demands are not satisfied, the branch will call a two-hour warning strike next Wednesday in all industries in the Warsaw region and a three-hour strike of public transportation in the capital.

Marches and meetings to protest the national food shortage will be held tomorrow in Wroclaw and Szczecin, a union source said.

In Lodz today, an estimated 30,000 women and children took part in Poland's second "hunger march." At a mass meeting after the march, the head of the local Solidarity branch, Andrzej Slowik, announced: "We give three weeks to the government to annul the cut in meat rations and find those guilty for the current food shortages." If not, the branch would find other means of protest, he said.

Similar marches were held today in other towns in the Lodz region.

Warsaw Workers Petition

NC310955 Paris AFP in English 0941 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Jul (AFP)--A delegation of several hundred Warsaw workers marched to the Polish diet (parliament) today to hand in a petition against proposed food price increases and stricter meat rationing.

The petition, which was handed out to the press, was adopted yesterday by the leadership of the Warsaw branch of the independent Solidarity trade union, which threatened to strike if demands were not met.

The members of the diet today resumed the debate opened yesterday on the country's deepening economic cirisi. The diet was also to examine a bill on government censorship which Solidarity has rejected in its present form.

The members of the diet yesterday cautioned the government on its plans for sharp food price increases, to avoid any risk of a repeat of workers' riots that broke out in the Baltic ports in 1970 and in Ursus and Radom in 1976 and were bloodily suppressed by authorities.

RURAL SOLIDARITY LEADER CALLS PRICE RISE DIVISIVE

PM290837 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 Jul 81 p 6

[B. Melander interview with Polish Rural Solidarity leader Wieslaw Piotr Kecik: "The Government Wants To Divide the Farmers from the Workers"]

[Text] "The price rises for foodstuffs are the party's attempt to divide the farmers' movement from Solidarity. The increases are totally nonsensical, but the hunger marches are very worrying and should have been stopped." The words are those of one of the top men in Rural Solidarity in Poland, Wieslaw Piotr Kecik.

At the present time he is visiting LRF [abbreviation unknown] to study Swedish agricultural statistics and how they are collated. "The Polish farmer has been on strike for 30 years," he said.

The main reason for the Polsh food crisis is 30 years of attempts by the authorities to collectivize land and suffocate the private farms, which nevertheless represent the largest part of agricultural production, Kecik said.

But the farmers have held on. At the same time as social and cultural impoverishment have taken place in the rural areas, young people have disappeared and today 70 percent of farmers are over 60.

"It would be possible now to implement an agricultural reform to create larger farms, but today's top men in the Communist Party do not want to discuss our demands," said Kecik, who believes that the Politburo must soon face further elections so that able bureaucrats from the middle levels of the administration can come forward and implement reforms in all sectors of society.

"Comprehensive changes must take place."

Rural Solidarity has many demands, but the following are the main points:

1. Economic equality between state and private agriculture. Today the private farmer is penalized through high material costs, for example.

2. The threat of collectivization must be lifted.

3. The farmers must be allowed to take part in the decision-making process about the future of agriculture. Today they are forced to sell their products to the state at a loss.

4. The farmers demand local self-government and the right to appoint the chairman of the local council.

5. Training for farmers in new technology and agronomy suited to small and medium-sized farms.

6. An improvement program for rural areas.

"There are many talented people in the Ministry of Agriculture and when we talk to them we are in agreement, but they have no power or influence in the Politburo," said Kecik, who is a member and an adviser to the movement's leader Jan Kulaj.

He accused the party and the agricultural bureaucracy of having caused the food crisis in Poland.

"A local bureaucrat goes to a farmer. He asks, 'How many pigs do you have?' The farmer replies, 'I have one pig.'

"The bureaucrat writes down that the farmer has two pigs because this will look better in the statistics. When the forms are filled in at regional level the farmer has four pigs. The Politburo believes these figures and sends out ration cards which in reality cannot be fulfilled.

"The food promised by the ration cards just does not exist."

Kecik condemns the price rises on food. They solve nothing. What is needed is a more favorable climate for the farmers.

"Now we have a chance to modernize agriculture and attract young people to rural areas, but there must be an infrastructure there and that has disappeared. And agriculture must be profitable."

Today production costs are sky-high and subsidies to the consumer enormous. But actual costs could be reduced if all punitive levies on private farms were removed.

Another problem is that there is no AC electricity in rural areas. Modern machines cannot be used and Kecik thinks that the closure of local slaughterhouses and dairies has worsened the situation.

People in rural areas have nowbegun to take local initiatives, have sought out buildings which have been standing empty and have started their own slaughterhouses and dairies and workshops on a cooperative basis, alongside the state apparatus.

"These activities must be integrated into the agricultural economy and this is why a reform based on cooperation between farmers and the authorities is needed.

"The harvest this year will be good," Kecik continues, "but the question is whether we can handle it. We have not got the capacity to treat it, store it and distribute it. We have an agriculture which looks like that of Zaire."

He is not worried about the prospect of any intervention.

"Hungary and Czechoslovakia demanded that the Russians get out of the country. We have not demanded this. They are there. But it is obvious that there are worries that our activities may spread to the rest of the Eastern bloc. But that is not our goal. We are working for Polish agriculture."

For the future he predicts new changes in the party leadership and thinks that the party has 2 years in which to put forward a program of reforms for the country.

"It is worth noting that the [USSR] Supreme Soviet has now realized that 50 percent of the Russians' agricultural produce comes from the 2 percent of agricultural land run privately. This has been noted in Poland and we can only hope that new reforms will stimulate private farming, which has an enormous capacity in Poland."

Kecik does not labor under the delusion that changes will take place quickly and the list of demands which Rural Solidarity makes is such political dynamite that the Communist Party has difficulty dealing with it without falling into a conflict involving the dogmas and principles in which the party is stuck fast. The collectivization of agriculture is one such tenet in the party program which obstructs dialogue.

If nothing happens, will the farmers go on strike?

"The Polish farmers have been on strike for 30 years," Kecik smiled. "They have not been given the opportunity to make full use of their capacity."

BRANCH TU HOLDS MEETING ON RATIONING ISSUES

LD310134 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] A meeting of the working group of the Consultative Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions for matters of rationing was held today. It was proposed, among other things, that the government draw up a balance of essential foodstuffs which ought to become a basis for a more effective disposal of goods. It is also necessary, in the view of the commission, to recognize food ration cards as being cards for strict accounting in all the phases of using them. In the case of a disclosure of abuses in this area, sanctions for those who are guilty ought to be made more severe.

SOLIDARITY MEETING IN BYDGOSZCZ CONCLUDES

LD310136 Warsaw PAP in English 2032 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Jul (PAP)--A three-day meeting of Solidarity union delegates from 17 big factories throughout the country came to an end in Bydgoszcz today. The delegates discussed issues connected with the draft laws on worker self-government and on the enterprise, and the economic reform, among other things.

The meeting suggested that changes be introduced to the draft for the law on socially-owned enterprise, but endorsed its main [word indistinct]. As participants in the meeting considered that the criticism of the draft is mainly due to a lack of precision in the use of terms some statements of the draft were [words indistinct] more precise form. An explanatory commentary to the draft law was adopted. The delegates agreed that they will not start work on proposals related to the [word indistinct] to people's councils. The next meeting is to be held in Rzeszow on 12 August.

PAP SUMMARIZES PZPR STATUTE ADOPTED AT CONGRESS

LD301508 Warsaw PAP in English 1415 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Jul (PAP)--The new PUWP statute adopted at the 9th congress differs largely from the previous one. It takes into account the deep transformations which have taken place in party life after the summer of 1980 and gives a new quality to the principles of party functioning.

The most important and historic feature of the new statute is that it has introduced new real safeguards for the Leninist principles to be observed in practice. The statute also corrects the previously-distorted relation between centralism and democratism and specifies the PUWP's leading role in society in accord with the current needs and feelings of the PUWP members.

The new statute reflects a trend within the party to create true institutional guarantees against political mistakes and distortions in exercise of authority and against new crisis. The statute is the result of a party-wide, deeply democratic debate and reflects the principles which strengthen intra-party democracy.

In adopting the statutes, the 9th PUWP Congress sanctioned the increased rights of party members and basic party organizations. Another crucial change is the expansion of the rights of elective authorities and precise definition of the forms of their supervision over executives and secretariats on all levels. Other novelties include a separate chapter containing basic clearly-set democratic principles of electing party authorities and delegates.

The new statute expands the powers of the Party Control and Audit Commissions. The principles of openness in party life have been set down clearly and certain issues concerning the personnel policy and the role played by party-payroll apparatus members towards party lower-stage authorities and organizations have been modified.

The statute says that the PUWP is the party of the Polish communists fighting for the interests of the working class and working people at large, for building the socialist system in Poland.

The PUWP shapes among its members and in whole society attitudes of deep patriotism and dedication to work for the country, respect for national values and unshakable fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Motivated by the Marxist-Leninist theory, the PUWP puts the principles of this theory into practice in accord with the definite exigencies of political, social, economic and cultural conditions in Poland.

The party's internal life is based on democratic centralism. The party fulfills its leading role basically by its members exerting influence on the organs of authority and administration and on social organization, by listening to public comments and opinions, broad-scale consultations over resolutions in preparation and socially-important decisions.

The party takes care of the socialist character of the trade unions movement, its political unity and all-round activity to protect working people's interests, to share responsibility for the production process, for efficient and productive functioning of the enterprises and institutions.

Membership in the party means voluntary acceptance of expanded duties and responsibilities, subordination to the statutory requirements and respect for the principles of democratic centralism.

The final part of chapter one, titled "The Party--Its Nature and Goals", includes statements on the party's care for strengthening the country's defence potential, peaceful national existence, as well as consolidating Poland's alliances and bonds with the socialist community. There are also statements about activities in favour of securing European and worldwide peace and developing cooperation with anti-imperialist movements.

POLITYKA VIEWS OBSTACLES TO NATIONAL ACCORD

AU301350 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 18 Jul 81 pp 1, 6

[Daniel Passent and Andrzej Krzysztof Wroblewski article: "Line of Accord Is Line of Struggle"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] The idea of accord and dialogue has gained such support that actually no one is bold enough to publicly question it.

We do not think that there is anyone who would criticize, during the congress, the very essense and the meaning of the party policy of accord that the Central Committee has been implementing since its sixth plenum. Solidarity and the church have also declared support for this policy. In view of the fact that the largest social and political forces in Poland are for the dialogue and appreciate the need for accord, why is it that our road is so steep, that we move along it in zigzags and that we encounter so many obstacles?

Despite the verbal support and concerted approval for the line of accord and dialogue, this line is being fiercely opposed by some people, that is, by THOSE WHO IN THEORY APPROVE THE POLICY OF ACCORD AND COMPROMISE, BUT IN PRACTICE SABOTAGE IT, ADDRESS UNREASONABLE DEMANDS TO THE BODIES OF POWER OR TO TRADE UNIONS, TRY TO DISCREDIT THE PARTNER INSTEAD OF RESPECTING HIM, AND EVEN REGARD THE PEOPLE ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE NEGOTIATING TABLE AS ADVERSARIES AND NOT AS PARTNERS. Although some extremists have found refuge in Solidarity and others in the party and although--subjectively--they regard each other as adversaries, objectively they are allies who want to push us off the only road to extricating Poland from its crisis.

Let us begin with those Solidarity people with extreme attitudes and demands who are noisy and are there for all to see because of the mass nature of Solidarity, because of many controlled and uncontrolled publications, and because of youthful impetuosity in some cases, and cynisism and self-seeking in others. There is no lack of quotations that show that the same people who stress the need for dialogue do not at all want to talk with representatives of the government and party and are waging gross campaigns to compromise and frighten anyone who is courageous enough to defend socialism, to refuse to negate all our achievements, to oppose extreme political, social and wage demands, to refuse to strike for just any reason, to oppose anti-Soviet and anticommunist publications, to be against provocative exhibitions, shows and other functions, to speak out against further cuts in working time and further increases in wages, to present the calculations that show that if we continue to raise the funds for education, culture, health services, mining, agriculture, construction, wages and so on to the levels as demanded at present, such increases will be considerably in excess of 100 percent, and to defend the people who were asked to go only because they had been active before August 1980. These extremists are not concerned for this or that building that houses militia headquarters which is good as a kindergarten as a nursery is good as a penitentiary. All these unending demands are just pretexts for the extremists TO USE THEM ONLY AND EXCLUSIVELY AS ARENAS FOR YET ANOTHER CONFRONTATION AND FOR EXERTING PRESSURE AGAINST THE BODIES OF POWER, whose authority the extremists supposedly care about in order to supposedly conduct a dialogue with them. Such demands are openly unfeasible, but the extremists put them forward because they cannot exist without them. They can exist only in an atmosphere of tension and see no place for themselves in an atmosphere of concord, on which score they are right.

While stating our position on the extremists and their demands, we exclude from them those genuine workers who put forward demands because they have been made impatient and discontented with the worsening living conditions, mainly material conditions. We are interested in the extremists who can be defined as common adventurers. Professing the principle of "all or nothing at all," they reject and condemn compromises because they do not want any accord and any reconstruction of or capital repairs to our common home. What they want is just to demolish our home's foundations. Their impudence stems from overestimating their own strength and from a lack of imagination. They forget that they have the party against them which, no matter how entangled it is in its own internal affairs, is able to resolutely oppose those who, consciously or not, seek to overthrow the people's government and to push Poland over the brink.

It should be conceded that the people in power have supplied the extremists in question with many arguments in the past few months, because the line of renewal has been promoted with difficulty also by the other side--the party and the bodies of power. There has been no timely response to the working people's many fair demands, many just decisions have been coerced and many people who lost society's trust have stayed for too long at their posts.

The program has been born in disarray, pain and struggle. Incompetence has also asserted itself, as attested to by the work on the report on the state of the economy or by some drafts of the economic reform.

This very complicated situation has been reinforced by bad will, by reluctance to reach accord and by a conduct that has treated representatives of the workforces as intruders who unlawfully demand that their house be put in order and who have appealed to the consciences that were for years insensitive, impenetrable and deaf to anything except to a phone call from a superior. Let us not delude ourselves that, because everyone in the party has declared himself for accord, renewal and dialogue, everyone really wants them. This would be too good to be true, and an unfeasible situation because it is hard to expect that everyone should all of a sudden think and act in a new way, leave their good posts, promote a democratic electoral procedure in the party as the people who are unpopular, talk to their partners who do not respect them, refuse to be racked by their restricted ability to comprehend the reality of our country and save themselves from the destructive influence of their ambitions and helplessness. It was they who said that Solidarity would never exist in the areas of their power, who defended corrupt people and who treated actions against them as actions against Poland, socialism and the party.

Afraid to come out openly against the policy of renewal and accord and against its sponsors and implementors, they began just to raise alarms and claim that our country and our system were falling apart AND SAW NOTHING BUT ENEMIES AND SUBVERSIVES IN EVERY-ONE. They began a dirty campaign of anonymous leaflets and pamphlets, in which they attacked the party and state functionaries who promoted the process of accord. They were doing this in just as gross a manner as their spiritual allies on the other side. Both of them deserve the name of "terrorists of renewal." They welcome with joy every difficulty along the road to renewal because such difficulties are supposed to prove that it is impossible to govern by renewal. And if there are no difficulties, they create them.

Following the initial shock, these people began to recover and consolidate. They use Marxist terminology, and their mouths are full of socialism. They act as defenders of our system and as ardent patriots, but if you read into their documents--for example, the Katowice Party Forum declarations, which were recently reread on the second TV program, which has opened its doors wide to these people, although many other and wiser people have for years been prevented from appearing on that program--you will be told that renewal is a catastrophe, that the working people have gained nothing by it, that the country is facing a revisionist coup, that the specter of capitalism is appearing all over Poland, that we are in the jaws of revisionism, opportunism, capitulation, clericalism and Zionism (yes, all in one breath), and that the millions and millions of the members of the workers class are so naive and inexperienced that they have been deceived by a small group of grafters, opportunists, revisionists, turncoats, bourgeois people and so on.

What do these people want to achieve by warming up the adventures of years ago? What do they want to convince the people of by resorting to pseudoarguments and methods for which we still have to blush? What did the extremists want at the 11th plenum when they proposed a vote of no confidence in Stanislaw Kania? What does "RZECZYWISTOSC" [reality] want to achieve when it writes about "10 months of understanding" shown by the Soviet Union and other allies--understanding that has nothing to do with tolerance?" [quotes as published] What does it want to achieve by suggesting in this way that there has been enough of the seasonal game of renewal? What did the forum functionaries want when they appealed for a return to the centralized management of the economy? What is the purpose of the people who have attacked the congress under the pretext that there will be no workers in it? Have they forgotten that Edward Gierek was a worker and that it is not one's job that matters but the program supported by workers? They want power for themselves, but if they took it over it would mean going back to the conditions before 1956 and canceling whatever we have done since with great pains and torments to make socialism better.

The extremists lurking on the periphery of the party and even holding more important posts pretend that they are principled communists, full of concern for the fortunes of the fatherland and socialism, but in fact they have no positive proposals and programs, except for a single word: No. No for Solidarity, no for a free discussion, no for decentralization. No, no and once again no. But the times when it was possible to say no to society came to an end in 1956. The party has no chance of saying "no," nor does socialism stand to win without the party. Like the Solidarity extremists who say "all or nothing at all," the party extremists say "nothing or everything."

Unfortunately, the campaign of slander and defamation is nothing new in the party. Its inglorious traditions were alive in the press toward the end of the sixties and are alive now. The political eloquence of that campaign is obvious: It is supposedly directed at revisionism, but its true target is renewal. There is no place in the dogmatic minds for independent trade unions, for cooperation with the Church, and for sharing anything with anyone. But the reality (reality without quotes) is such that one has to recognize it and that playing ostrich is useless. Refusal to recognize the facts results in the arrogance of power--arrogance for which we are now paying so dearly. It was a tradition in the party to say that dogmatism is a cold and that revisionism is pneumonia.

IF THE PARTY WANTS TO IMPLEMENT THE LINE OF ACCORD AND IF IT EXPECTS SOLIDARITY TO PURGE ITSELF OF ITS EXTREMISTS, THEN IT MUST DO THE SAME; OTHERWISE THE TRADE UNIONS WILL NOT BELIEVE THAT THE PARTY WANTS TO TALK WITH THEM, AND THE FUTURE WILL BE BLEAK.

Many attempts have been made to stamp POLITYKA as revisionist, cosmopolitan, objective, technocratic, managerial and so on. After August it was attacked on two sides: Some people saw us as hardliners because we were not the most vociferous in the choir of the converts to renewal, and others (for example, the Katowice Forum or RZECZYWISTOSC) regard us as revisionist and those who capitulate.

What about conclusions from the aforementioned facts? At the congress and after it, the party must have its eyes wide open and refuse to be taken in by so many fine words. Otherwise it will lose touch with the realities of the country and the world. These realities call for a struggle with various dogmatists--with those who in one breath appeal for incentives, equality and sacrifices, but not to the cost of the people--with those who appeal for overcoming the crisis, but without reforms--and those who appeal for reforms, but without the party.

It is necessary to admit to the national front--even though it is a term of the old epoch --all those who do not question Poland's socialist system. The party has neither such a clear conscience nor so much strength as to be able to do without representatives of the other sections of the people.

The relation between dwelling on the past and programming the future must at last change in favor of the latter. It is the task of all enlightened Poles to persuade other Poles that what all the thieves together stole from us in the past decade is worth less than the losses we will suffer if a large factory remains idle because of the shortage of some materials. It is necessary to focus our attention on such shortages. We will be able to do all this only under the condition that the law regains its lost splendor and that the general run of people believes that the courts, prosecutors, lawyers, statutes, laws and decrees are not instruments of manipulation, but an unshakable foundation of social order.

CEAUSESCU DEPARTS FOR SOVIET UNION 31 JULY

AU310820 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, this morning left for the Soviet Union at the invitation of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is accompanied by Comrades Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, and Constantin Mitea, member of the RCP Central Committee and counselor to the party secretary general and president of the republic.

Upon departing from Otopeni Airport, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was seen off by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, Comrades Iosif Banc, Emil Bobu, Cornel Burtica, Lina Ciobanu, Ion Coman, Nicolae Constantin, Constantin Dascalescu, Ion Dinca, Janos Fazekas, Cornelia Filipas, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patin, Aneta Spornic, Virgil Trofin, Emilian Dobrescu, Petre Enache, Mihai Gere, Suzana Gadea, Ion Ionita, Ana Mu esan, Elena Nae, Constantin Olteanu, Cornel Onescu, Richard Winter and Nicu Ceausescu. Vasiliy Ivanovich Drozdenko, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, was also present. A group of Pioneers presented flowers to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Arrival in Crimea

AU311047 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Upon arrival in Crimea at Simferopol Airport, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was warmly welcomed and greeted by Anatoliy Blatov, counselor to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by Viktor Sergeyevich Makarenko, first secretary of the Crimea Oblast Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, and by other leaders of the local party and state bodies.

FESTIVE BUCHAREST MEETING MARKS BCP ANNIVERSARY

AU301933 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1838 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Jul (AGERPRES)--A festive meeting was held in Bucharest on Thursday at the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, marking 90 years since the foundation of the worker class' party of Bulgaria.

The meeting was presided by Ilie Radulescu, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Mihnea Gheorghiu, president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, Dumitru Turcus, deputy head of section at the CC of the RCP, Victor Tulbure, vice chairman of the Romanian-Bulgarian Friendship Association, as well as Petur Danailov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Romania.

Participating were representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of other central institutions, working people of Bucharest, teaching staff and students of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy.

Present were members of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Romania.

Addressing the audience were Gheorghe Zaharia, deputy director of the Institute of Historical and Sociopolitical Studies under the CC of the RCP, and Ambassador Petur Danailov.